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[FRIEDRICH II, DER GROSSE, KING OF ...]

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MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF ...

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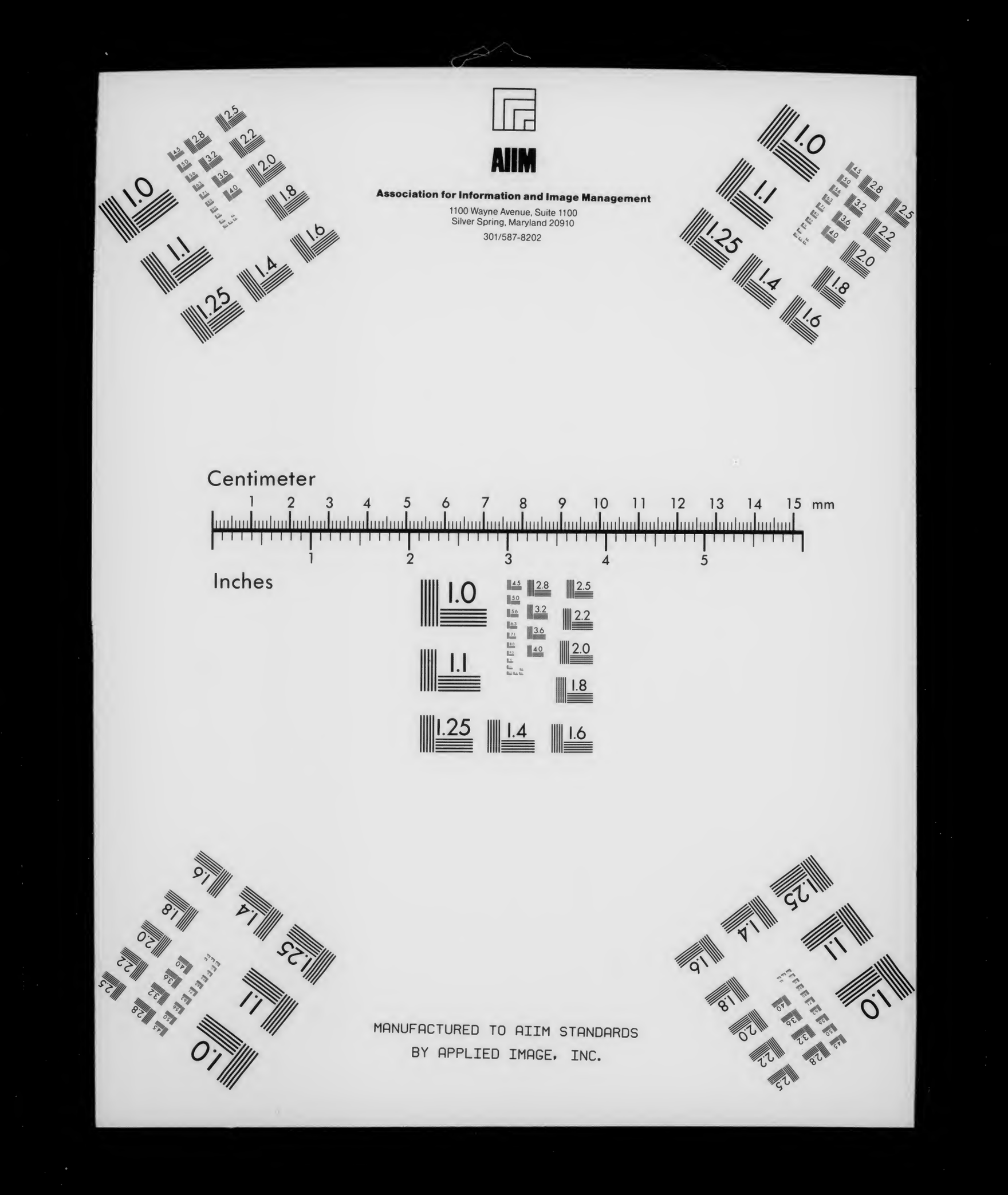
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Houſe of Brandenburg:

From the earlieſt accounts, to the death of FREDERICK I. KING of PRUSSIA.

To which are added,

FOUR DISSERTATIONS.

I. On Manners, Cuſtoms, Induſtry, and the progreſs of the Human Underſtanding in the arts and ſciences.
II. On the antient and modern government of Brandenburg.
III. On Superſtition and Religion.
IV. On the Reaſons for the enacting and repealing of Laws.

And a PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

By the preſent KING of PRUSSIA.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by E. and J. ROBERTSONS;
For W. GRAY in the front of the eaſt wing of the *Exchange*.
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TO THE
PRINCE ROYAL
OF
PRUSSIA.

DEAR BROTHER,

HAVING lately employed ſome leiſure hours in drawing up an abridgment of the hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenburg, I thought proper to addreſs this work to you, who are one day to be the ornament of this hiſtory; to you who are next heir to the crown, and to whom I have conſecrated all my toils and perils. It is true you were acquainted with the actions of your anceſtors, before I undertook to commit them to writing: therefore the pains I have taken in making this extract, can be of no other uſe to you than to recal them to your memory. I have treated the ſubject with freedom and impartiality, ſo as to exhibit the princes of your houſe in their real colours. The ſame pen which has drawn the civil and military virtues of the great Elector, has glanced at the foibles of the firſt king of Pruſſia, and thoſe paſſions which in the order of Providence con-

 tributed

tributed afterwards to raiſe this houſe to its preſent pitch of grandeur. I have diveſted myſelf of all manner of prejudice, and conſidered princes and relations only as other men. Far from being biaſſed by the weight of power, or from idolizing my anceſtors, I have freely condemned their vices, becauſe vice ſhould find no patronage on the throne: I have commended virtue in thoſe whom it adorned; but guarded againſt the enthuſiaſm which it naturally inſpires; to the end that nothing but truth, in her plain and native dreſs, ſhould reign throughout this hiſtory. If mortals may be allowed to dive into the ſecrets of futurity, and after an inveſtigation of principles to reaſon on the conſequences, I may venture to predict, from the knowledge I have of your character, a laſting proſperity to this empire. It is not the ſuggeſtion of a blind and paſſionate affection, nor the baſe language of flattery, which both of us equally deteſt, but it is truth itſelf that obliges me to tell you, with an inward ſatisfaction, that you have rendered yourſelf worthy of the rank to which your birth has called you, and of the title of DEFENDER OF YOUR COUNTRY, by bravely venturing your life in her cauſe. If you did not think it beneath you to paſs through the different degrees of military ſubordination, it is becauſe you judged, that to be worthy of command, you ought firſt to learn to obey; it is becauſe your moderation forbade you to plume yourſelf with that empty glory which vulgar princes are apt to aſſume upon the experience of veteran captains. Your chief and conſtant aim

aim is the good of your country: hence you have ſilenced every paſſion, and ſet every view of private intereſt aſide, whenever it was your duty to appear in her defence. It was from this ſame principle that BOUFFLERS offered himſelf to the king of France in the campaign of 1709, and ſerved under VILLARS; who received him with the following compliment; "Such a collegue, Sir, as you, I ſhall always "conſider as my maſter." It is not only on that coolneſs and preſence of mind which no perils can diſcompoſe, nor on that bravery and prudent reſolution which you have always exerted in deciſive moments, and by which the troops have often diſtinguiſhed you as one of the chief inſtruments of their victory; it is not, I ſay, on theſe virtues only that I ground my hopes, and thoſe of the public: the braveſt kings have often made their ſubjects unhappy; witneſs the military ardour of FRANCIS I. and CHARLES XII. and ſo many other princes, who have been upon the brink of ruin themſelves, or ruined their country, by exceſs of ambition. Permit me to tell you, it is the gentleneſs and humanity of your diſpoſition; it is the ſincere, the unfeigned tears which you ſhed, when a ſudden accident had like to have ended my days; that I look upon as the ſure marks of your virtue, and as pledges of the happineſs of thoſe whom heaven has deſtined to be one day under your government. A heart ſuſceptible of friendſhip is ſuperior to baſe ambition; for your part, you know no other rule of conduct than juſtice, and have no other deſire than that of preſerving

preſerving the eſteem of wiſe and virtuous men. Thus thought the ANTONINUS's, the TITUS's, the TRAJANS, thoſe beſt of princes, who have been juſtly called the delight of human kind. How happy am I, Dear Brother, to behold my neareſt and moſt beloved relation poſſeſſed of ſo many virtues! Heaven has given me a ſoul ſenſible to the impreſſions of merit, and a heart capable of gratitude; ties which, joined to thoſe of nature, will bind me for ever to you. With theſe ſentiments you have been long indeed acquainted; but I am glad I have the opportunity of repeating them to you at the head of this work, and, as it were, in the preſence of the whole univerſe. I am with friendſhip and eſteem,

Dear Brother,

Your faithful brother

and ſervant,

FREDERIC.

THE

Preliminary Diſcourſe.

HISTORY is looked upon as the ſchool of princes: it exhibits to their memory the reigns of thoſe ſovereigns who were fathers of their country, and of thoſe tyrants who laid it waſte: it points out the cauſes of the increaſe and decline of empires: it diſplays ſuch a multitude of characters, that ſome of them cannot help bearing a reſemblance of thoſe of the princes in our days; and while it decides the reputation of the dead, it pronounces a tacit ſentence on the living. Thus the cenſure which hiſtory paſſes on thoſe wicked men who are no more, is a moral leſſon to the preſent generation, by which they are given to underſtand what kind of judgment poſterity will form of their conduct.

Though the ſtudy of hiſtory is, of all others, the moſt proper for princes, yet it is not leſs uſeful to private perſons: it is the chain of the ſeveral events of paſt ages, tranſmitted down to our days. Here the civilian, the politician, and the ſoldier, learn the connexion of things preſent with the paſt: here they find encomiums beſtowed on thoſe who faithfully ſerved their country; and univerſal odium entailed on the names of ſuch as abuſed the confidence of

their fellow-citizens: here, in fine, they are made wiſe by the experience of others.

To contract the ſphere of our ideas to the ſpot we live on, or to confine our knowledge to our private duties, is grovelling in the moſt ſtupid ignorance. But to penetrate into the remote receſſes of antiquity; to comprehend the whole univerſe within the extent of the mind; is really triumphing over ignorance and error, is co-exiſting with all ages, and becoming, indeed, a citizen of all places and countries.

As general hiſtories prevent our being perplexed or confounded in regard to that great multiplicity of events, which have happened in all countries; as they conduct us regularly, from the remoteſt antiquity, down through the ſucceſſion of times, by fixing certain epochas, which ſerve as reſting-places to the memory: ſo particular hiſtories have this advantage, that they enter into a detail of the ſeveral events which have occurred in an empire, by confining themſelves entirely to this ſingle branch. General hiſtories preſent us, as it were, with a large picture, filled with a variety of figures, ſome of which are covered with ſuch ſtrong ſhades as render them too indiſtinct to be diſcerned. Particular hiſtories pick a ſingle figure out of this piece; they repreſent it to the life; and, giving it every advantage of light and colours, they enable the public to view it with that attention which it deſerves.

A man that does not really think he dropt from the clouds, or does not date the origin of the world from the day of his nativity, ought naturally to be curious of being acquainted with the tranſactions of different ages and countries. If he is indifferent with regard to the fate of ſo many other nations, that have

have been the ſport of fortune, he will be pleaſed, at leaſt, with the hiſtory of the country he lives in, and with the relation of the events in which his anceſtors were concerned. If an Engliſhman, for example, has no knowledge of the hiſtory of thoſe kings who filled the throne of Perſia; if his memory is embaraſſed with that infinite number of popes who ruled the church, we are ready to excuſe him: but we ſhall hardly have the ſame indulgence for him, if he is a ſtranger to the original of parliaments, to the cuſtoms of his country, and to the different lines of kings who have reigned in England.

Pruſſia is the only civilized country in Europe whoſe hiſtory was wanting. I do not rank among the number of hiſtorians a Hartknoch, or a Puffendorf; laborious writers indeed, but who compiled only facts, and whoſe works may be looked upon rather as hiſtorical dictionaries, than real hiſtories. Nor do I reckon a Lockelius, who wrote a tedious chronicle, where, for the pleaſure of finding only a ſingle event of importance, we muſt be at the trouble of reading a hundred tireſome pages. This ſort of writers may be compared to labourers, who carefully, but injudiciouſly, collect a quantity of materials, which ly quite uſeleſs, till the architect has given them their proper form. 'Tis as impoſſible that thoſe compilements ſhould conſtitute a hiſtory, as that a printer's types ſhould make a book, unleſs they are diſtributed in the order requiſite for the compoſition of words and ſentences.

Young people, who are naturally impatient; and men of taſte, whoſe time is precious; are very little inclined to attempt the reading of theſe voluminous works. A perſon who is accuſtomed only to pamph-

 lets

lets and ſuch ſlight pieces, will be frightened at a folio; for which reaſon the authors above-mentioned have been but little read, and the hiſtory of Brandenburg and Pruſſia was hardly known.

As early as the reign of Frederick I. they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of having an author to digeſt this hiſtory into a proper form. Teiſſier was invited from Holland to undertake this work; but, inſtead of an hiſtory, he wrote a panegyric: and he ſeems to have been ignorant, that truth is as eſſential to hiſtory as the ſoul to the human body.

Having, therefore, found this taſk as yet unexecuted, I have ventured to undertake it myſelf, with a view not only of writing an uſeful work, but of preſenting the public with a hiſtory which it wanted.

The facts I have taken from the beſt authorities I could find. For the remote ages I had recourſe to Cæſar and Tacitus; and for later times I conſulted Lockelius's chronicle, Puffendorf and Hartknoch; and eſpecially the records and authentic papers of the royal archives, upon which I have chiefly founded my memoirs. Facts which are uncertain, I relate as ſuch; and the gaps are left as I found them. I have made it my rule to be impartial, and to examine the ſeveral events with a philoſophic indifference, from a conviction that an adherence to truth is the principal duty of an hiſtorian.

If ſome perſons, over nice, ſhould be offended, that I have not placed their anceſtors in an advantageous light, I have only one word of reply: it is, that my intent was not to write a panegyric, but a hiſtory; and that it is very conſiſtent to eſteem their perſonal merit, and yet to blame the faults committed by their forefathers. Beſides, it is certain, that no

no work can have any excellency or real value, that is not written with freedom; and that we ought leſs to reſpect frail and mortal men, than truth which is immortal.

Some, perhaps, will find fault with this abridgment for being too conciſe; but it was not my deſign to write a long, tedious work. Let a profeſſor, ſcrupulouſly exact in trifles, condemn me for not mentioning the name of the cloth that Albert the Achilles's coat was made of, or the cut of John the Cicero's band: let a pedant of Ratiſbon complain, that I have not tranſcribed any of thoſe proceedings, negotiations, conventions, or treaties of peace, which are to be met with in huge volumes: I mind none of thoſe gentlemen; and I would have them to know, that I do not write for them. I have not leiſure to ſpin out a folio; ſcarce am I able to compaſs an hiſtorical abridgment: beſides, I am firmly of opinion, that no ſubject deſerves to be committed to writing, that is not worth retaining.

For this reaſon, I have touched but very ſlightly upon the obſcure original, and the inſignificant adminiſtration, of the firſt princes of this family. 'Tis with hiſtories as with rivers, which are of no conſequence 'till they begin to be navigable. The hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenburg has nothing engaging, 'till the time of John Sigiſmund. The acquiſition that prince made of Pruſſia, and the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which fell to him in right of his wife, are events of ſuch importance as may merit the reader's attention. From that period, as the matter grew upon me, it enabled me to be proportionably diffuſive.

The thirty years war is far more intereſting than

the diſputes between Frederick I. and the Norimbergers, or the carouſels of Albert the Achilles. This war, the marks of which are ſtill viſible in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, is one of thoſe memorable events which every German and Pruſſian ought to be well acquainted with. On the one ſide, we ſee the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, ſpreading the terror of her arms, to eſtabliſh deſpotic power in the empire; and on the other, the generous ſpirit of the princes of Germany, contending for their liberty; while religion ſerved as a pretext alike to both parties. We ſee, likewiſe, two great kings induced by political views to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, 'till they reduced the houſe of Auſtria to conſent, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, to the re-eſtabliſhment of that balance, which preſerves the equilibrium between the ambition of the emperors, and the liberty of the electoral college. Events of that great importance, which influence the moſt momentuous concerns even in our days, deſerve to be treated with greater extent and exactneſs; and, indeed, I have enlarged upon them as much as the nature of this work would permit.

This edition has been reviſed, corrected, and improved, as much as other occupations of a more ſerious nature would permit. As the firſt edition was made from an incorrect copy, I have endeavoured to render this more exact, as well in conſideration of the matter, as out of regard to the public, whom every man that writes ought to reſpect.

There has lately appeared a chronological abridgment of the hiſtory of France, which may be looked upon as the quinteſſence of the moſt remarkable tranſactions of that hiſtory. The judicious author has had

had the art of embelliſhing even chronology itſelf: by being well acquainted with that work, a man may be ſaid to be thoroughly verſed in the hiſtory of France. Far am I from being ſo vain as to think I have ſet off this eſſay with the ſame ornaments; but I ſhall think my labour requited if it ſhould prove uſeful to our young people, and ſave ſome time to ſuch of my readers as have none to ſpare.

Though I was ſenſible of the difficulties which a German lyes under in writing in a foreign language, yet I determined to draw up theſe papers in French, becauſe it is the moſt poliſhed and the moſt general language in Europe; and it ſeems to be in ſome meaſure aſcertained by the excellent writers in the reign of Lewis XIV. After all, it is no more ſurpriſing that a German ſhould in our days write in French, than it was in Cicero's time that a Roman ſhould write in Greek. I ſhall ſay no more concerning this performance, leſt the preface ſhould run to ſuch a length as to exceed the work itſelf. 'Tis the reader's buſineſs to judge, whether I have executed the taſk I undertook, or have loſt my time and labour.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Houſe of Brandenburg.

THE houſe of Brandenburg, or rather that of Hohenzollern, is ſo antient, that its original is loſt in the darkneſs of antiquity. I might indeed, relate the fables or the conjectures that have been formed on its extraction: but fables ought not to be preſented to the public in this judicious and learned age. It is of little importance that genealogiſts make it deſcend from the houſe of Colonna, and that, by a groſs miſtake, they confound the ſceptre in the arms of the family of Brandenburg with the column which that Italian houſe bears in its eſcutcheons. In ſhort, of little importance is it, that the counts of Hohenzollern are made to deſcend from Witikind, from the Guelphs, or from any other houſe: mankind, I think, are all of a race equally antient. After all, the reſearches of a genealogiſt, or the labours of the learned, who inveſtigate the etymology of words, are things of ſo ſmall and trifling a nature, as to be beneath the notice of men of ſenſe. We ought

ought to have remarkable facts and objects, capable of fixing the attention of reasonable beings.

I shall not then lose my time in puzzling my brain with researches as frivolous as unuseful.

Tassillo, who lived about the year 800, is the first count of Hohenzollern known in history. His descendants were Danco, Rodolph I. Otho, Wolffgang, Frederick I. Frederick II. Frederick III. Burchard, Frederick IV. Rodolph II. concerning whom little more than their bare names has been transmitted to posterity. Conrad, who lived towards the year 1200, is the first burgrave of Nurenberg mentioned in history. His successors were, Frederick I. in 1216, Conrad II. in 1260, Frederick II. in 1270. We find that Frederick III. inherited from his brother in law, the duke of Meran, the lordships of Bareith and Cadelsburg. He was succeeded by John I. in 1298, and the latter by Frederick IV. in 1332.

This burgrave did very great services to the emperors Albert, Henry VII. and Lewis of Bavaria, in the wars between them and Frederick of Austria. The burgrave beat the arch-duke, took him prisoner, and delivered him up to the emperor: and this prince, in return, made the burgrave a present of all the prisoners he had taken from the Austrians. Frederick IV. set them at liberty, on condition that they should pay him homage for their lands: and this is the origin of the right of vassalage, which the margraves of Franconia preserve still in Austria.

The successors of Frederick IV. were Conrad IV. in 1334, John II. in 1357, Albert VI. surnamed *the handsome*, in 1631; and Albert's nephew Frederick V. whom the emperor Charles IV. declared

prince of the empire in 1363, at the diet of Nurenberg, and likewise appointed his commissary.

Frederick V. divided the lands of his burgraviate, in the year 1420, between his two sons John III. and Frederick VI. but John III. dying without issue, the whole paternal succession fell to Frederick VI.

In the year 1408, this prince marched his army into the territories of the city of Rothweil, which had been put under the ban of the empire, where he demolished several castles. In 1410 he took possession of the government of the Marck, which had been conferred upon him by the emperor Sigismund.

As the late electors of Brandenburg had not resided in the Marck, the nobility embraced this opportunity to revolt, and become independent. The new governor joined his forces with the dukes of Pomerania, and fought a most bloody battle against the rebels near Zossen. He gained a complete victory, and demolished some of the forts, which served them for places of retreat; but he could not entirely subdue the family of Kuitzow, till he had taken from them twenty-four castles, which were all in a state of defence.

We are now come to a memorable æra of the history of the house of Hohenzollern; but as we find it transplanted, as it were, into a new country, it will be proper to give some account of the origin and government of Brandenburg.

The provinces which then composed the electorate of Brandenburg, were the old Marck, the middle Marck, the new Marck, the Uckraine Marck, Pregnitz, the county of Ruppin, Crossen, Cotbus, Beiskaw and Storkaw. The word margraviate originally signifies the government of frontiers.

The

* The Romans were the firſt who eſtabliſhed governors in that country, which they had conquered from the Swevi. Yet 'tis obſerved, that they never paſſed the Elbe. It ſeems, according to Tacitus, that the brave and warlike ſpirit of thoſe people preſerved them from being enſlaved. The Swevi, as well as the Romans, were afterwards driven out by the Vandals, the Henetti, the Saxons and the Franks; and Charlemain found it very difficult to ſubdue them in 780. Margraves, however, were not eſtabliſhed in this country till the year 927, when Henry *the fowler* appointed governors of that name, to bridle thoſe people who were inclined to revolt, and to overawe the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, who exerciſed their roving valour in continual inroads and depredations. Sifroi, brother in law to the emperor Henry *the fowler*, was, according to Enzelt, the firſt margrave of Brandenburg, in the year 927. Under his adminiſtration it was that the biſhopricks of Brandenburg, Miſnia, Camin and Havelberg were founded; but that of Magdeburg was founded by the emperor Otho.

Hiſtorians generally reckon ſix different lines of the margraves of Brandenburg from Sifroi down to our time; namely, that of the Saxons, of the counts of Stade, of the houſe of Anhalt, of Bavaria, of Luxemburg, and, in fine, that of Hohenzollern, which ſtill ſubſiſts.

Under the adminiſtration of the antient margraves, a king of the Vandals, by name Miſtevojus, laid the Marcks entirely waſte, and drove away the governors. The country was recovered again by the emperor Henry II. the barbarians were overthrown, and Miſtevojus, with ſix thouſand men, was ſlain. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding this ſucceſs, the margraves enjoyed no reſt; for they were continually at war with the Vandals, and other barbarous nations, with various ſucceſs: nor was their power quite ſettled, till under Albert *the bear*, the firſt of the Anhalt line, which was the third of the margraves. The emperor Conrad III. raiſed him to the margraviate, and the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa to the electoral dignity, towards the year 1100. Premiſlaus, prince of the Vandals, who had no iſſue of his own, conceived ſo great a liking to Albert *the bear*, as to leave him by his will the middle Marck, in the year 1142. This elector was at that time maſter of the old and middle Marck, of upper Saxony, the country of Anhalt, and part of Luſatia. With regard to the princes of the Anhalt line, neither hiſtory nor records afford us the leaſt light concerning their tranſactions. It is known, that this line became extinct in 1332, by the death of Woldemar II. The then reigning emperor Lewis of Bavaria, looking upon the Marck as a fief devolved to the empire, gave it to his ſon Lewis, who was the firſt of the fourth line. This elector had three different wars to maintain; one with the dukes of Pomerania, who had invaded the Uckraine Marck; the ſecond with the Poles, who ravaged the county of Sternberg; and the third againſt an impoſtor, who, by perſonating Woldemar, brother to the laſt elector of the houſe of Anhalt, had formed a party, and made himſelf maſter of ſome towns, but was at length defeated. This pretender was the ſon of a miller at Belitz.

Lewis *the Roman** ſucceeded his brother; and dying, like him, without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his third

* So called becauſe he was born at Rome.

third brother Otho. This prince was ſo mean-ſpirited, that, after the death of the emperor his father, he ſold the electorate, in 1370, for two hundred thouſand florins, to the emperor Charles IV. of the houſe of Luxemburg, who did not even pay him that ſmall ſum. Charles IV. gave the Marck to his ſon Wenceſlaus, who wanted to incorporate it with his kingdom of Bohemia.

Sigiſmund, the third elector of the houſe of Luxemburg, being in want of money, ſold the new Marck to the Teutonic Order, in 1402. That order had been poſſeſſed of this province before, after conquering it from the elector John: it had been redeemed by Otho *the long*; and now it was alienated again by Sigiſmund of Luxemburg. The elector Jodocus, of the ſame family, poiſoned his brother Procopius. This prince reigned twenty-four years; but aſpiring after the imperial crown, he ſold the whole electorate to William duke of Miſnia for four hundred thouſand florins. This duke had not been in poſſeſſion of the Marck above a year, when it was redeemed by the emperor Sigiſmund.

This extraordinary cuſtom, which ſo greatly prevailed in that age, of buying and ſelling different territories, is an evident proof of the barbarouſneſs of thoſe days, and of the miſerable ſituation theſe provinces were in, which were ſold ſo very cheap. The emperor Sigiſmund made Frederick VI. who was burgrave of Nurenberg, governor or margrave of Brandenburg: and 'tis with this prince we propoſe to commence our hiſtory.

FRE-

FREDERICK I.

It was in the year 1415, that the emperor conferred the electoral dignity, and the office of great chamberlain of the empire, on Frederick I. and at the ſame time made him a preſent of the country of Brandenburg. This prince received the inveſtiture from the hands of his benefactor, at the diet of Conſtance, in 1417. He was in poſſeſſion then of the old and middle Marck; but the Uckraine Marck having been uſurped by the dukes of Pomerania, the elector declared war againſt them, defeated them at Angermund, and recovered a province, which, from time immemorial, had been incorporated with the Marck.

The new Marck was ſtill mortgaged, as we have already obſerved, to the Teutonic Order; but the elector, deſirous of enlarging his territories, took poſſeſſion of Saxony; which electorate was then vacant by the death of the laſt elector of the Anhalt line. This acquiſition did not meet with the emperor's approbation, who gave the inveſtiture of it to the duke of Miſnia; upon which Frederick I. voluntarily deſiſted from his pretenſions.

The elector made a teſtamentary diviſion of his territories among his children. His eldeſt ſon, ſurnamed *the Alchymiſt*, loſt the electorate for having too cloſely applied himſelf to the ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone; ſo he gave him Voigtland; to his ſecond ſon Frederick he bequeathed the electorate; the duchies of Franconia to Albert, ſurnamed *the Achilles*; and the old Marck to his ſon Frederick, ſurnamed *the fat*; but, by the death of the latter, this province was reunited to the electorate of Brandenburg. In thoſe remote times they ſtill adhered to that

that principle of natural equity, which ſeems to require, that a father ſhould make an equal partition of his fortune among his children. But it was afterwards found, that the ruin of the great families was owing to this cuſtom of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement for the younger brothers. We ſhall, however, in the courſe of this hiſtory, meet with ſome other inſtances of the like diviſions. Frederick died in 1440.

FREDERICK II. *ſurnamed* IRON-TOOTH.

Frederick II. was ſurnamed *Iron-tooth*, becauſe of his ſtrength. He ſhould have been called *the Magnanimous*, for having refuſed two crowns; that of Bohemia, which was offered him by the pope, who wanted to get George Podiebrad depoſed; and that to which he had been invited by the Poles, which he declared he would not accept, unleſs Caſimir, brother to the late king Ladiſlaus, refuſed it. The magnanimity of this elector gained him the confidence of nations; inſomuch that the ſtates of Lower Luſatia made a voluntary ſurrender of their country to him. Luſatia was a fief of Bohemia. George Podiebrad, unmindful of the obligations he owed to Frederick II. attacked Luſatia and the Marck. But a treaty was agreed upon between theſe two princes at Guben, in 1462, by which the perpetual ſovereignty of Cotbus, Peits, Sommerfeld, Bobersberg, Storkaw, and Beſſekaw, was yielded to the elector by the crown of Bohemia. The elector, who had no inclination to make unjuſt acquiſitions, took care, however, to aſſert his lawful rights. Thus he redeemed * the new Marck of the Teutonic Order, to whom, as I have already obſerved, it had been mortgaged. Upon the

* In 1445, for 100,000 florins.

the deceaſe of Otho III. the laſt duke of Stettin, which happened in 1464, the elector declared war againſt the duke of Wolgaſt. His reaſon was, becauſe Lewis of Bavaria, elector of Brandenburg, had made a treaty, in 1338, with the dukes of Pomerania; whereby it was agreed, that if their line ſhould come to be extinct, Pomerania ſhould revert to the electorate. This treaty had been ratified by the emperor. The diſpute, however, was determined by an agreement made in 1464, by which the duke of Wolgaſt remained indeed in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Stettin, but became feudatory to the elector, and Pomerania yielded him eventual homage. In the year 1469, Frederick II. reunited the county of Wernigerode to the Marck, as a vacant fief, taking the titles of duke of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Vandalia, Schwerin, and Roſtock, of which he had the expectancy.

The ſame diſintereſted ſpirit, which made him refuſe two crowns, induced him to abdicate the electorate in 1469, in favour of his brother ſurnamed Albert *the Achilles*; for he had no children. This prince, who had always poſſeſſed the principles of moderation, did not deviate from them on this occaſion; for he reſerved to himſelf only a ſmall penſion of ſix thouſand florins, with which he ſpent the remainder of his days in philoſophical retirement, and died in the year 1471, oppreſſed with infirmities.

ALBERT ſurnamed THE ACHILLES.

Albert, ſurnamed *the Achilles* and *Ulyſſes*, from his valour, was 57 years old at his brother's abdication. This prince had performed his chief

exploits while he was only burgrave of Nurenberg. As margrave of Bareith and Anſpach, he declared war againſt Lewis *the Bearded*, duke of Bavaria, and took him priſoner. He gained eight battles againſt the Nurenbergers, who had rebelled, and conteſted his rights of the burgraviate. He ventured bravely his life in taking a ſtandard from a guidon of this city, and fighting ſingly againſt ſixteen men, till his people came up to his aſſiſtance. He made himſelf maſter of the town of Greiffenburg, in the ſame manner as Alexander of the capital of the Oxydracæ, by leaping from the top of the walls into the town, where he defended himſelf ſingly againſt the inhabitants, 'till his troops forced the gates, and reſcued him from danger. The confidence which the emperor Frederick III. had in him, gained him the direction of almoſt the whole empire. He commanded the imperial armies againſt Lewis *the Rich*, duke of Bavaria, and againſt Charles *the Bold*, duke of Burgundy, who had laid ſiege to Nuis * ; but concluded a peace by the interpoſition of Albert. He gained the prize at ſeventeen tournaments, and was never diſmounted.

Theſe combats ſeem to be of French original. Very likely they were introduced into that country by the Moors, who over-run Spain, together with their romantic gallantry. We find in the hiſtory of France, that they were revived by one Godfrey de Preuilly, who lived in the year 1060. And yet Charles *the Bold*, who lived in 844, gave theſe entertainments at Straſburg, upon receiving a viſit from his brother Lewis of Germany. This cuſtom was received in England as early as the year 1114, and eſtabliſhed, in 1194, by king Richard I. We are informed by John

* The town of Nuis is ſituated in the electorate of Cologn.

John Cantacuzenus, that theſe combats, which came from Gaul, were celebrated, in 1226, at the marriage of Anne of Savoy with the Greek emperor Andronicus Paleologus. Numbers of people loſt their lives in theſe combats, when they were carried to extremity. We read in Henry Cnigſton, that there was a tournament at Chalons in 1274, occaſioned by an interview between Edward king of England and the duke of Chalons, when ſeveral Burgundian and Engliſh gentlemen were killed upon the ſpot. Tournaments made their way into Germany as early as the year 1136. It was uſual to ſend letters of defiance, in order to bring together the champions of thoſe combats. Theſe were nearly the contents; " That ſuch a prince, being weary of an effeminate idleneſs, deſired the combat, in order to exerciſe his valour, and to ſignalize his ſkill in arms." They mentioned likewiſe the time, the number of combatants, the kind of arms, and the place where the tournament was to be held; and enjoined the vanquiſhed knight to give a golden bracelet to the victors, and a ſilver one to their ſhield-bearers. Theſe fatal entertainments met with oppoſition from the popes; for Innocent II. in 1140, and after him, Eugene III. in the council of Lateran, in 1313, thundered out their anathemas, excommunicating thoſe who ſhould be preſent at thoſe combats. But notwithanding the ſuperſtition of thoſe days, the popes were unable to ſuppreſs this fatal cuſtom; a cuſtom encouraged by a miſtaken point of honour, and which the prevailing brutality of manners made uſe of as a ſhew and amuſement, agreeable to the barbarity of the age that gave it birth. For, ſince thoſe excommunications, hiſtory makes mention of the tournament of Charles VI.

king of France, at Cambray, in 1385; of that of Francis I. between Ardres and Guines, in 1520; and that, in fine, at Paris, in 1559, where Henry II. received a wound in the eye from a ſplinter of count Montgomery's lance, of which he died in eleven days.

We find therefore, that Albert *the Achilles*'s great merit at that time, was his having obtained the prize at ſeventeen tournaments; and that, in thoſe ignorant days, they ſet as great a value upon bodily ſtrength, as in Homer's time. The ſuperior knowledge of our age eſteems only the accompliſhments of the mind, and thoſe virtues by which a man raiſes himſelf almoſt above his frail condition, ſubdues his paſſions, and becomes humane, generous and benevolent.

Albert *the Achilles* reunited then his territories in Franconia to the electorate, by the abdication of his brother in 1470. After he had taken the reins of government, he made a treaty of confraternity, in 1473, with the houſes of Saxony and Heſſe, by which the ſucceſſion of their dominions was regulated, in caſe any one of their lines ſhould come to be extinct. In 147:, he ſettled the ſucceſſion of his own territories among his children, leaving the electorate to John called *the Cicero*; Bareith to his ſecond ſon; and, to the youngeſt, Anſpach. Albert at length reſigned the electorate, in 1476, in favour of John *the Cicero*. His daughter Barbara, who was married to Henry duke of Glogaw and Croſſen, tranſferred the latter duchy to the houſe of Brandenburg. By her marriage-contract it was ſtipulated, that, in caſe duke Henry happened to die without iſſue, the elector ſhould have a right of raiſing annually fifty thou-

thouſand ducats on the duchy of Croſſen. The caſe happened; and John *the Cicero* took poſſeſſion of the town of Croſſen, and kept this acquiſition. The third ſon of Albert *Achilles*, Frederick *the Fat*, margrave of Anſpach, was grandfather to that Albert-Frederick, who received the duchy of Jagerndorff of the king of Bohemia. It will not be amiſs to obſerve, upon this occaſion, that this duke George of Anſpach and Jagerndorff made an agreement with the dukes of Oppelen and Ratibor, by which the ſurvivors were to be heirs to thoſe who died without iſſue. Theſe two dukes had no children, and George inherited the ſucceſſion of theſe duchies. Afterwards, Ferdinand, brother to Charles V. and heir to the kingdom to Bohemia, ſtripped the margrave George of Oppelen and Ratibor, promiſing him the ſum of one hundred and thirty thouſand florins, as an indemnity, which was never paid.

JOHN The Cicero.

The natural eloquence of this prince gained him the ſurname of *Cicero*. He reconciled three kings, who laid claim to Sileſia; namely, Ladiſlaus of Bohemia, Caſimir of Poland, and Matthias of Hungary. John *Cicero*, and the elector of Saxony, entered Sileſia at the head of ſix thouſand horſe, declaring they would oppoſe any of thoſe kings that would refuſe to liſten to their arms of accommodation. It is recorded, that, by the force of his eloquence, he mediated an agreement between thoſe princes, by which Sileſia and Luſatia were divided between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary. I ſhould be glad to meet with other inſtances of this prince's eloquence; for, in

this caſe, the ſix thouſand horſe appear to have been the ſtrongeſt argument. A prince, who is able to determine diſputes by force of arms, is certainly a great logician; he is a Hercules, whoſe perſuaſive force lyes in his club.

John *Cicero* went to war with the duke of Sagan, who had formed pretenſions upon the duchy of Croſſen; the elector defeated him near this city, and took him priſoner. We may form a judgment of the manners of thoſe days from this John duke of Sagan, who had the cruelty to let a brother of his, with whom he had quarrelled, periſh with hunger. John *Cicero* died in 1499, and left behind him two ſons; the eldeſt was Joachim, who ſucceeded him in the electorate; the ſecond Albert, who was afterwards choſen elector of Mentz, and archbiſhop of Magdeburg.

JOACHIM I. *ſurnamed* NESTOR.

This prince had the ſurname of *Neſtor* given him, in the ſame manner as Lewis XIII. that of *the Juſt*; that is, without any reaſon we know of. He was only ſixteen years old, when he came to the electorate. The county of Puppin becoming vacant by the death of Wichman count of Lindaw, the elector reunited this fief to the Marck. He died in 1532, leaving two ſons behind him, namely, Joachim his ſucceſſor, and the margrave John, to whom he bequeathed the new Marck, Croſſen, Sternberg, and Storkaw.

JOA-

JOACHIM II.

It ſeems it was in Joachim II.'s time, that the ridiculous cuſtom was laid aſide of giving ſurnames to princes. That which was beſtowed upon his father had ſucceeded ſo ill, that it became rather a nick-name than an appellation of renown. The flattery of courtiers, after exhauſting the compariſons of antiquity, turned itſelf undoubtedly another way: and it is to be believed, that the vanity of princes loſt nothing by the change.

Joachim, as we have juſt now obſerved, ſucceeded his father in the electorate, and embraced the doctrine of Luther in 1539. The circumſtances which gave riſe to this revolution are not known; this however is certain, that his courtiers, and the biſhop of Brandenburg, followed his example.

A new religion which ſtarted up of a ſudden, a religion which has divided Europe, changed the nature of poſſeſſions, and produced even new ſyſtems of politics, deſerves our attention for a few moments, to conſider the progreſs it made, and by what ſprings it produced ſuch ſudden revolutions in the greateſt ſtates.

As early as the year 1400, John Huſs began to preach his new doctrine in Bohemia; which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was that of the Vaudois, and of Wickliff, whoſe opinions he had embraced. Huſs was burnt at the council of Conſtance *. His pretended martyrdom inflamed the zeal of his diſciples; the Bohemians, who were too dull a people to enter into the ſophiſtical diſputes of the theologians, embraced

 this

* In the year 1415, under Pope John XXIII.

this new ſect merely from a ſpirit of independence and mutiny, which is properly the characteriſtic of this nation. Theſe new converts ſhook off the papal yoke, and made uſe of the liberty of their conſciences as a cloke to cover the crime of their revolt. Their party was formidable as long as one Ziſka was at their head. This man obtained ſome victories over the troops of Wenceſlaus and Ottacarus, kings of Bohemia; but, after his death, moſt of the Huſſites were driven out of the kingdom; and we do not find that Huſs's doctrine made any progreſs out of Bohemia.

Ignorance was at its higheſt pitch in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The clergy had not even ſo much as the ſurperficial learning of pedants; the diſſolute and licentious life of the monks made all Europe call out for a reformation of ſo many abuſes. The popes abuſed their authority to a degree that was paſt all bearing. Leo X. made a trade of indulgences thro' all chriſtendom, to collect the ſums which he wanted for the building of St Peter's church at Rome. Some pretend, that this pope made a preſent to his ſiſter Cibo, of the produce of thoſe which were to be ſold in Saxony. This caſual revenue was leaſed out; and thoſe ſtrange farmers, thro' avidity of gain, pitched upon friars, and ſuch like mendicants, to collect very large ſums; part of which was ſquandered away by the commiſſioners of the indulgences, in ſcandalous exceſſes. An inquiſitor, whoſe name was Tetzel, together with ſome Dominicans, who had acquitted themſelves very ill of this commiſſion, gave riſe to the reformation. For Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Auſtin friers, whoſe order had been formerly in poſſeſſion of this trade, gave directions

ons to one of his friers, whoſe name was Luther, to preach againſt the indulgences. Luther had already, in the year 1516, attacked the ſchoolmen; but now he ventured to declaim more loudly againſt theſe abuſes. In the heat of the diſpute, he advanced ſome other doubtful propoſitions which he afterwards maintained, and ſupported with new arguments. The pope at length excommunicated him in 1520. He had taſted the pleaſure of ſpeaking his ſentiments freely; he gave himſelf up to it afterwards without reſerve, flung off his habit, and married Catharine Bore in 1525, after having brought over a great many princes to his party, to whom the ſpoils of the church lands were a tempting bait. The elector of Saxony was the firſt who embraced this new ſect, which was afterwards adopted by the Palatinate, the countries of Heſſe, Hanover, Brandenburg, Suabia, part of Auſtria, Bohemia, and Hungary, all Sileſia, and the North. Its tenets are ſo well known, that it is needleſs here to relate them.

Soon after, *viz.* in 1533, Calvin appeared in France. This man's new ſcheme of religion was owing to the impreſſions he had received from one Wolmar, a German Lutheran, with whom he had got aquainted at Bourges. Notwithſtanding the protection granted by Margaret queen of Navarre to this new doctrine, Calvin was ſeveral times obliged to quit France. He had made the greateſt number of proſelytes at Poitiers. This reformer, who was throughly acquainted with the genius of his countrymen, knew that they were eaſier perſuaded by ſongs then arguments; for which reaſon he compoſed a ballad, the burden of which was, *O monks! O monks!*

monks! you muſt all be married *; and it met with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. Calvin retired to Baſil, where he printed his Inſtitutes; after which he made a convert of the ducheſs of Ferrara, daughter to Lewis XII. In 1532, he brought the city of Geneva intirely over to his opinions, and there he burnt Michael Servetus, who had declared againſt him. Tho' the reformed religion was never entirely tolerated in France, yet the civil wars it occaſioned had like to have ruined that kingdom. Henry VIII. eſtabliſhed this new worſhip in England. He had received of Leo. X. the title of Defender of the faith for writing againſt Luther; but falling in love with Anne Bullen, he wanted to have his marriage with Catharine of Arragon diſſolved; and after ſolliciting Rome in vain, he diſſolved it at length by his own authority. Clement VII. who ſucceeded Leo. X. was ſo imprudent as to excommunicate him for marrying Anne Bullen; for which reaſon Henry ſhook off the papal yoke in 1533, and declared himſelf head of the church of *England*. If we are therefore willing to reduce the cauſes of the reformation to ſimple principles, we ſhall find that in Germany it was owing to the love of gain, in England to that of a woman, in France to that of novelty, or perhaps of a ſong. We are not to imagine that either John Huſs, Luther, or Calvin, were men of ſuperior genius. It is with the chiefs of ſects, as with ambaſſadors: men of ordinary abilities ſucceed often better in their negotiations, provided they have advantageous conditions to offer. The reign of fanatics and reformers was in the ages of ignorance. But the human*

* *O moines! O moines! il faut vous marier.*
See Moreri's dictionary, under the article *Calvin.*

man mind ſeems to be cloyed at length with diſputes and controverſies. The theologians and metaphyſicians are now left to diſpute by themſelves in the ſchools; and ſince in proteſtant countries the clergy have no more to loſe, the broachers of new ſects meet with a very indifferent reception.

The elector Joachim II. gained then, by the communion in both kinds, the biſhopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebuſs, which he incorporated with the Marck.

He did not enter into the confederacy which the proteſtant princes made at Smalkald in 1535; but he preſerved tranquillity in his dominions, while Saxony and the neighbouring provinces were laid waſte by the ſword. The religious war commenced in 1546, and ended by the treaties of Paſſaw and Augſburg.

*The emperor Charles V. had put himſelf at the head of the catholic party. The illuſtrious, but unfortunate John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and Philip *the Magnanimous*, landgrave of Heſſe, were the chiefs of the proteſtants; and theſe were defeated by the emperor near Muhlburg in Saxony. This prince, and cardinal Granville, made uſe of a baſe artifice to deceive the landgrave of Heſſe. Charles V. thought himſelf authorized by the equivocal phraſe of a ſafe conduct, to throw the landgrave into priſon, where he paſſed a great part of his life. The elector Joachim, who had guaranteed that ſafe conduct, was ſo greatly provoked at this breach of faith, as to draw his ſword in a paſſion againſt the duke of Alva* *; but they were parted by the company. The elector of Saxony was depoſed, and the electorate con-*

* The emperor's ambaſſador at Berlin.

conferred by the emperor upon prince Maurice, who was of the Albertine line. However, Joachim did not comply with the emperor's famous edict, which was called the *Interim*.

The emperor had given directions to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to lay siege to Magdeburg. This city surrendered after a siege of fourteen months; but the capitulation was so favourable to the inhabitants, that the emperor with great reluctancy confirmed it. The bishop of Magdeburg being dead, the canons chose in his room Frederick, bishop of Havelberg, second son to the elector Joachim; and after his decease, the elector had credit enough to make them chuse his third son Sigismund, who was a protestant. It was this elector that built the fortress of Spandaw in 1555. The engineer's name was Giromela. They must indeed have been strangers in this country to all manner of arts, to have recourse to Italy for the smallest trifles. Margrave John, the elector's brother, had Custrin fortified at the same time. Very likely it was a fashion then to fortify towns; if they had had a right notion of the use that may be made of them, there would have been no want of engineers.

Joachim II. obtained in 1569, of his brother-in-law Sigismund Augustus king of Poland, the right of succeeding to Albert Frederick of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, in case the latter died without issue; and bound himself by treaty to assist Poland with a certain number of troops, whenever it should be attacked. This prince's reign was mild and peaceable; he was accused of being liberal to a degree of excess; he died in 1571.

JOHN

JOHN GEORGE.

John George inherited the same year the electorate from his father Joachim II. and the *New Marck* from his uncle the margrave John. As his reign was pacific, it comes in here only to connect the thread of the history. It is to be observed, that one of his wives was a princess of Lignitz, named Sophia. The branch of the margraves of Bareith and Anspach happening to be extinct, divided that succession between his two younger sons, Christian and Ernest, from the former of whom springs the new stem of Bareith, from the latter that of Anspach. This elector died in 1598.

JOACHIM FREDERICK.

Joachim Frederick was fifty-two years of age, when he came to the electorate. During his father's life, he had enjoyed the bishopricks of Magdeburg, Havelberg, and Lebus; but upon his succeeding to John George, he resigned the archbishoprick of Magdeburg in favour of one of his sons, named Christian William. He had the administration of Prussia during the madness of duke Albert Frederick; and inherited the duchy of Jagerndorff, which he gave to one of his sons, named George, to indemnify him for the bishoprick of Strasburg, which he had been forced to resign. Successions in those days were often re-united, and as often divided; the bad policy of those princes frustrating every exertion of fortune in their favour.

Joachim Frederick was the first prince of the family

mily that eſtabliſhed a council of ſtate. I leave the reader to judge what kind of an adminiſtration, what juſtice, what management of the finances they muſt have had in thoſe rude and unpoliſhed days, when there were not even perſons appointed to diſcharge thoſe functions.

The elector undoubtedly perceived the neceſſity there was of providing for the education of youth; for it was with this view he founded the college of Joachim Stahl, which was deſigned to maintain and inſtruct a hundred and twenty perſons. This college was removed afterwards by the great elector to Berlin. The poverty of the country, and the ſmall circulation of ſpecie, occaſioned the ſumptuary laws publiſhed by this elector. He died in 1608, aged 63.

JOHN SIGISMUND.

John Sigiſmund had been married at Konigſberg, in 1594, to Anne, only daughter of Albert duke of Pruſſia, who was heireſs of that dukedom, and of the ſucceſſion of Cleves. This ſucceſſion conſiſted of the countries of Juliers, Berg, Cleves, Marck, Ravenſburg, and Ravenſtein; too delicious a morſel not to tempt the avidity of thoſe who had the expectation of any ſhare of it.

Before I ſpeak of the rights of the electors of Brandenburg, and of the dukes of Newburg, it will be proper to explain the pretenſions of Saxony, that I may not entangle the ſubject.

The emperor Maximilian had given the expectancy of this ſucceſſion to the princes of the two lines of Saxony, namely, the Erneſtine and the Albertine, in

in default of iſſue male and female of the dukes of Cleves. For the letters patent, which George William, duke of Cleves, obtained of the emperor, plainly ſhew, that this fief deſcended to females. John Frederick, the laſt elector of Saxony of the Erneſtine branch, married Sibylla, daughter of John III. duke of Juliers.

Duke William of Cleves, ſon to John of Juliers, married Ferdinand's daughter, niece to the emperor Charles V. This marriage, joined to the diſpleaſure which the emperor had conceived againſt Frederick of Saxony, for ſiding with the confederacy of Smalkald, induced him to confirm to duke John William the right which he had of diſpoſing of his ſucceſſion in favour of his daughters, in default of male iſſue. This duke's ſon, who was named after him John William, died without iſſue in 1609; ſo the ſucceſſion fell to his ſiſters.

The eldeſt was Mary-Eleonora, married to Albert Frederick, duke of Pruſſia.

The ſecond, Agnes, was married to the prince Palatine of Neuburg.

The third, Magdalen, was wife to the count Palatine of Deux-ponts.

The fourth, Sibylla, was married to the count of Burgau, a prince of Auſtria.

Theſe four princeſſes, and their children, laid claim to this ſucceſſion.

The houſe of Saxony, beſides its rights of expectancy, pleaded the marriage of the elector Frederick with the princeſs Sibylla, aunt to the deceaſed.

Mary Eleonora, wife of Albert duke of Pruſſia, grounded her rights on the marriage contract in 1572, in which it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that in caſe

caſe her brother died without iſſue, ſhe and her poſterity ſhould inherit the ſix duchies, in virtue of the fundamental pacts made in 1418 and 1496, by which the right of ſucceſſion was granted to the eldeſt daughters. The duke of Pruſſia engaged to pay 200,000 florins to his wife's ſiſters, as an equivalent for all their pretenſions. Had Mary-Eleonora been living at the time of her brother's deceaſe, it is very probable there would have been no diſpute about the matter; but being dead, her daughter Anne, wife to the elector John Sigiſmund, ſucceeded to her mother's rights. This inheritance ought therefore to have fallen to her, ſince ſhe repreſented Mary-Eleonora, and this was the great point conteſted.

The pretenſions of Anne, ducheſs of Neuburg, were founded on this, that as her ſiſter Mary-Eleonora, was dead, ſhe ſucceeded to her rights, and of courſe was become the eldeſt ſiſter, being a nearer relation than Anne of Brandenburg, who was only niece to the deceaſed. There was nothing but family compacts, and the marriage contract of Mary-Eleonora againſt theſe reaſons.

The two younger ſiſters of duke John William did not demand the entire ſucceſſion; they propoſed only a partition.

But what abſolutely annulled the right of thoſe three younger ſiſters, was their having renounced all their rights in their marriage contract, as long as there ſhould be any children living by their eldeſt ſiſter.

The elector John Sigiſmund, and Wolffgang William, duke of Neuburg, agreed to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the conteſted ſucceſſion, with a reſervation however of their reſpective rights. This convention was

was forwarded by the conduct of the emperor Rodolph, who wanted to ſequeſter the duchies belonging to this ſucceſſion. In fact, the archduke Leopold was going to ſeize them, but was prevented by the proteſtant princes who formed the famous alliance, known by the name of the *Union*, into which John Sigiſmund was one of the firſt that entered. In order to counteract this union, the catholic princes concluded a treaty of the like nature at Wurtzburg, which was called the league. The elector had the Dutch on his ſide, who were afraid of the imperial ſequeſtration; and the duke of Neuburg was favoured by Henry IV. king of France; but at the very time this prince was preparing to aſſiſt him, he was aſſaſſinated by Ravillac *.

The elector had tried to come to an agreement with the duke of Neuburg; they had an interview for this purpoſe; but in the heat of diſpute John Sigiſmund happening to give this prince a box on the ear, the conferences were broke off. By this ſpecimen we may form a judgment of the politeneſs and manners of that time. In 1611 another accommodation was attempted at *Juterbock* with the elector of Saxony, concerning this ſame ſucceſſion; but the princes were not to be there themſelves, for interviews were become dangerous. The duke of Neuburg proteſted againſt that treaty, and it was never put in execution.

John Sigiſmund had the adminiſtration of Pruſſia, during the madneſs of his father-in-law duke Albert, in the ſame manner as Joachim-Frederick. He received alſo of Sigiſmund III. king of Poland, the inveſtiture of Pruſſia, for himſelf and his deſcendents,

 which

* See Sully's Memoirs.

which was the third inveſtiture that had been granted to the electoral family.

As Pruſſia was reunited by this prince to the houſe of Brandenburg, it will not be amiſs to give here a conciſe account of the original ſtate and government of this country, and in what manner it fell to duke Albert, the elector's father-in-law.

The word Pruſſia ſignifies *near the Ruſſe*; the Ruſſe is a branch of the river Niemen, which is now called Memel. Pruſſia was originally inhabited by Bohemians, Sarmatians, Ruſſians, and Venedi. All theſe people were ſtupid idolaters, worſhipping the gods of the foreſts, lakes, rivers, and even ſerpents and elks. Their rude and ſavage religion rendered them ſtrangers to the elegance and magnificence of temples. The eſtabliſhed worſhip of their principal idols, *Potrimpos*, *Percunos* and *Picolus*, was under oak trees, where they were ſet up at Ramowa and at *Heiligenbeil*. Theſe people ſacrificed the priſoners taken from their enemies to their falſe gods. S. Adelbert was the firſt who preached Chriſtianity to the Pruſſians towards the year 1000, and received the crown of martyrdom. Criſpus relates that three kings of Poland, who were all named Boleſlaus, went to war with the Pruſſians, in order to convert them: but theſe people, grown ſkilful in war, ravaged Mazovia and Cujavia. Conrad, duke of Cujavia, called in the knights of the Teutonic order from Germany to his ſuccour, whoſe grand maſter at that time (in 1239) was Herman of Saltza. He entered Pruſſia, and by the aſſiſtance of the Livonian knights, who were a kind of templars, he founded the four biſhopricks of Culm, Pomeſan, Ermeland, and Samland. The war between the Teutonic order

der and the Pruſſians laſted 53 years. Thoſe knights were obliged afterwards to engage in other wars, in order to defend themſelves either againſt Poland, or againſt the dukes of Pomerania, who were jealous of their eſtabliſhment. Then it was that the families of the ſeveral knights began to ſettle in Pruſſia, from whom, in great part, the preſent nobility are deſcended.

Under the grand-maſter Conrad of Erlichhauſen, and in the year 1458, the cities of Dantzick, Thorn and Elbing, declared to him, that as they were tired of his adminiſtration, they had transferred their allegiance to Caſimir, ſon of Jagellon king of Poland. The war which then broke out between the knights and the Poles, concerning Pruſſia, laſted thirteen years; in which the Poles were victorious, and preſcribed the law. Pruſſia on the hither ſide of the Viſtula was annexed to that kingdom, and called Royal Pruſſia; the order kept the further Pruſſia, but was obliged to pay homage for it to the conquerors.

In 1510, Albert of Brandenburg was choſen grand maſter of the order. This was the great grandſon of Albert *the Achilles*, as we have already obſerved. The new grand maſter, deſirous of vindicating the honour of the order, undertook a new war againſt the Poles, in which he was very ſucceſsful; for he was created duke of Pruſſia by Sigiſmund I. king of Poland, who rendered that dignity hereditary to this prince, and to his deſcendents. Albert in return was only obliged to do homage to Poland.

Albert, now maſter of the further Pruſſia, flung off the habit, the croſs, and arms of the Teutonic order. The knights behave on this occaſion as the weakeſt commonly do, proteſting againſt what was

not in their power to hinder. The new duke had a war to maintain in 1563 againſt Eric duke of Brunſwick, and commander of Memel. Eric entered Pruſſia at the head of twelve thouſand men; but was ſtopt by Albert on the banks of the Viſtula. As nothing remarkable happened in this expedition, and both ſides of the river were covered with ſoldiers, who employed their time in gathering nuts, it was called the *war of the nuts*. Albert turned proteſtant in 1515, and Pruſſia followed his example. His ſon Frederick-Albert ſucceeded him in 1568. This prince received the inveſtiture from king Sigiſmund-Auguſtus, to which the envoy of the elector Joachim II. greatly contributed. It was this Albert-Frederick that married Mary-Eleonora, daughter of John William, and ſiſter of the laſt duke of Cleves. John Sigiſmund was ſon-in-law, and guardian to this duke of Pruſſia, by whoſe death, in 1618, he entered into the intire poſſeſſion of this duchy. This elector had embraced the ſect of Calvin in the year 1614, to pleaſe the inhabitants of the country of Cleves, who were to become his ſubjects. The emperor Rodolph II. died during the adminiſtration of this elector; and the electoral college choſe Matthias, brother of the deceaſed, in his ſtead. The elector finding himſelf broken with old age and infirmities, reſigned the government to his ſon George-William, and died not long after.

GEORGE-WILLIAM.

George-William came to the electorate in 1619, and had a moſt unfortunate reign. The dominions of this weak prince were ravaged during the whole courſe

courſe of the thirty years war, the traces of which are to this very day diſcernible in Germany. All the miſeries that can afflict a country fell upon the electorate of Brandenburg. A ſovereign incapable of governing; a miniſter, who was a traitor to his country *; a war, or rather a general ranſacking and plundering; an inundation of armies, ſome friends, ſome foes, but all equally barbarous, deſtructive, and cruel; armies, that toſſing to and fro like the waves of the ſea, exhauſted theſe provinces by their flux and reflux, never withdrawing till they had laid every thing waſte, and compleated the deſolation of the country.

This fatality, which ſeemed to perſecute the elector, extended to all his relations. George-William was married to the daughter of the elector Palatine Frederick IV. and ſiſter to the unfortunate Frederick V. king of Bohemia, who was defeated at Weiſſenberg, ſtripped of the Palatinate, and put under the ban of the empire. The emperor Ferdinand II. confiſcated the duchy of Jagerndorff; becauſe the duke who was uncle to George-William, had eſpouſed the cauſe of Frederick V. This duchy the emperor gave to the princes of Lichtenſtein, who are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it. The elector proteſted as much as he pleaſed, but no notice was taken of him. His uncle, the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, was diſpoſſeſſed, and put under the ban of the empire, for entering into the league of Lauenburg, and concluding an alliance with the king of Denmark. At that time the emperor was almoſt deſpotic.

The truce which had been concluded between Spain and Holland in 1621, for twelve years, was now expired. The ſeat of war was removed to the

 provinces

† The court of Schwartzenberg. ſtadtholder of the Marck.

vinces of the diſputed ſucceſſion of Cleves. The Spaniards made themſelves maſters of Juliers, which the Dutch held for the elector; and Cleves and Lipſtadt ſurrendered to Spinola. The Dutch, indeed, ſome years afterwards, in 1629, drove the Spaniards out of the country of Cleves, and retook ſome towns for the elector. At length George-William and the duke of Neuburg prevailed on the Spaniards, in 1630, to evacuate in ſome meaſure the provinces of the ſucceſſion; the Dutch gariſoned the towns belonging to the elector, and the Spaniards thoſe belonging to the duke. But this convention did not laſt long; for the war broke out again in thoſe provinces, in 1635, with greater fury than ever. I ſhall only obſerve, that during the whole adminiſtration of this elector, the country of Cleves was a prey to the Spaniards and the Dutch, who made themſelves maſters of different poſts, took towns by ſurpriſe, and gained and loſt ſeveral advantages over each other; but came to no deciſive engagement. The contributions raiſed by the generals, and the pillaging of the ſoldiers, conſtituted at that time the principal part of the military art.

Tho' the emperor pretended to aſſume an abſolute ſovereignty over the empire, ſtill the ſeveral princes were ſtrenuous in oppoſing his encroachments, with a reſolution that ſometimes put a ſtop to them; and they entered into confederacies that alarmed the court of Vienna. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony interceded with the emperor for their colleague, the elector Palatine; and refuſed to acknowledge the elector Maximilian of Bavaria, whom Ferdinand II. had raiſed to this dignity, in prejudice to the Palatine family, and contrary to the laws of the empire. For,

For, according to the *Golden Bull*, which is conſidered as a fundamental law, no elector can be put under the ban of the empire, nor ſtript of his dignity, without the unanimous conſent of the diet in body aſſembled. However, the good offices of theſe electors had no effect.

At length the progreſs of the reformation, which dividing Germany, had given birth to two powerful parties, occaſioned a war. The proteſtant princes entered into a confederacy at Lauenburg, to maintain the free exerciſe of their religion. Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, the dukes of Brunſwick, Luneburg, Holſtein, Mecklenburg, and Chriſtian-William, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, all joined in this alliance. The emperor took umbrage at this, and ſent general Tilly, in 1625, into the circle of Lower Saxony, at the head of 12,000 men. Tilly ſat down before Hall; and tho' the town ſurrendered without any reſiſtance, he gave it up to the ſoldiers to pillage. At the ſame time Wallenſtein, with another army of 12,000, marched into the provinces of Halberſtadt and Magdeburg. The ſtates of Lower Saxony deſired to be reconciled to the emperor; but their propoſals did not hinder Wallenſtein and Tilly from invading the abovementioned provinces. Chriſtian-William, adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, was depoſed *; the chapter choſe another in his ſtead, and nominated Auguſtus, the elector of Saxony's ſon, coadjutor. In the mean while, the adminiſtrator joined his troops with thoſe which the king of Denmark had in Lower Saxony. Chriſtian-William and Mansfield, who commanded this army, attacked Wallſtein at the bridge of Deſſaw, and were

* The emperor had deſigned this benefice for his ſon.

entirely routed; after their defeat, they escaped into the marquisate of Brandenburg, which they plundered. Tilly routed another body of Danish troops at Lutter in Lower Saxony. The neighbourhood and successes of the Imperialists obliged George-William to comply with the emperor's desire, and to acknowledge the elector Maximilian of Bavaria.

The king of Denmark, who had now repaired his losses, took the field the year following, in 1626, with two armies, one commanded by himself in person, and the other by the administrator. But he durst not present himself before Tilly, who had garisoned Brandenburg, Ratenow, Havelberg, and Perleberg.

Mansfeld assembled the shattered remains of his army, and ventured to march into the country of Brandenburg against the consent of the elector. The Imperialists sent a detachment of 7000 men against him, who were afterwards joined by 800 of George-William's forces, under the orders of colonel Craght: these passed the Werthe, and soon dispersed Mansfeld's fugitive troops. By these feeble succours, we find that the elector had hardly any army on foot.

The Imperialists, making a proper use of their advantages, garisoned all Pomerania, under pretext of securing Germany against any attempt from the Swedes; but the real motive, perhaps, was because Bogislaus, the last duke of Pomerania, had left the succession of his dominions after his death to the elector of Brandenburg, who had already the expectancy of them. Walstein laid siege to the town of Stralsund, but was obliged to raise it, with the loss of 12000 men. Stralsund entered into an alliance with

with the king of Sweden, and admitted a garison of 900 Swedes.

About this very time, the emperor published his famous edict of restitution, in which he enjoined the protestant princes to restore to the church the lands they had seized since the treaty of Passaw. This would have been a terrible blow to the protestant princes. The house of Brandenburg, in particular, would have lost by it the bishopricks of Brandenburg, Havelberg and Lebus. This was the signal which once more set the protestants and catholics together by the ears. Ferdinand II. wanted to fish in troubled waters, and to appropriate to himself the archbishoprick of Magdeburg; but Walstein was obliged to rise from before that town after a siege of twenty-eight weeks.

The elector went in person to Warsaw, in the year 1626, to receive the investiture of Prussia. A new war broke out at that time in those quarters. Sigismund III. king of Poland, formed pretensions against the kingdom of Sweden, at that time governed by Gustavus Adolphus. Gustavus, in order to be beforehand with his enemy, marched into Prussia, took fort Pillaw in the 1628, and made a considerable progress in Livonia and Polish Prussia. This prince made a truce for six years with the Poles, which was signed at Dantzick in 1629, where he was himself in person; in this the elector was comprehended, and afterwards they extended it to twenty-six years.

The king of Sweden had formed a design of entering Germany, in order to reap some advantage from the troubles of that country, which had been so greatly increased by the emperor's edict of restitution. Gustavus published a kind of a manifesto, setting forth the

the grievances he had received from the emperor. His ſubjects of complaint were theſe: that the emperor had aſſiſted the king of Poland with 10,000 men; that he had depoſed his ally, the duke of Mecklenburg; and that he had uſed the town of Stralſund very ill, with which he was in alliance. Immediately upon this declaration, all the ports of Pomerania were blocked up by the Swediſh fleet. Whoſoever conſiders theſe reaſons, will not find them more ſolid than thoſe which Charles II. king of England, made uſe of in his declaration of war againſt the Dutch. One of the principal grievances of the Engliſh was, that Meſſ. de Witt had a ſcandalous * picture in their houſes. Muſt ſuch frivolous reaſons as theſe be given for the devaſtation of provinces; and human blood be thus wantonly ſpilt, to ſatisfy the fancy and capricious whims of a ſingle man?

It was in the year 1630 that all the calamities, which had hitherto menaced the electorate of Brandenburg, broke out, and the ſtorms that roared in the neighbourhood all joined to deſtroy this miſerable country. Walſtein, who had taken up his quarters in the elector's territories, raiſed moſt exorbitant contributions on them: Surpriſing! that the Imperial armies ſhould thus ſeverely treat a country, whoſe prince was cloſely united to the elector. It is eaſy to judge of the ſituation of the elector George-William at that time, by his anſwer to Ferdinand II. who invited him to the diet of Ratiſbon. He ſays: *The March is ſo greatly exhauſted, as to be incapable of ſupplying my ordinary expences, much*

* This is ſaid to have been the picture of a ſea fight, in which the Dutch had been victorious over the Engliſh.

much leſs thoſe of a journey of that kind. The regiments of Pappenheim and St Julian were quartered in the middle Marck, which they drained of 300,000 crowns in ſixteen months. The ſilver mark at that time was nine crowns; at preſent it is twelve; ſo that this ſum would now amount to 400,000 crowns. It is ſaid that Walſtein drew from the whole electorate the ſum of 2,000,000 of florins, which in our preſent ſpecie, would make 1,777,777 crowns. This account appears to me exaggerated, and I believe it would be no miſtake to abate two thirds of the ſum.

In the mean while Guſtavus Adolphus entered Germany, and made a deſcent upon the iſle of Rugen, from whence he diſlodged the Imperialiſts by the help of the ſtrong gariſon which he had at Stralſund. At the approach of the Swediſh army, the emperor gave notice to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg to furniſh proviſions and ammunition to his troops, promiſing in return to moderate the edict of reſtitution in their favour. While the diet was aſſembled at Ratiſbon, Guſtavus made himſelf maſter of Pomerania, threw a Swediſh gariſon into Stettin, and chaſed Torquato Conti, who commanded the Imperial troops, from this duchy.

This king concluded a treaty with the duke of Pomerania, by which it was ſtipulated, that if, after his deceaſe, the ſucceſſion of that country ſhould be diſputed with the elector of Brandenburg, or if Sweden was not intirely indemnified for the expences of the war, this province ſhould be ſequeſtered into the king's hands. The Imperialiſts, driven from Pomerania by the Swedes, retired into the new

Marck

Marck, and drew up in a body towards Frankfort on the Oder.

At the approach of the Swediſh army, the elector raiſed ſome intrenchments in a hurry before the gates of Berlin, where he planted a few cannon, and obliged the burghers to mount guard; an evident ſign that he had no regular troops in the town.

The city of Magdeburg joined with the Swedes, and promiſed them the paſſage over their bridge on the Elbe. The troops of this city drove the Imperialiſts out of the country; but Tilly returned with his army, ſubdued the whole country, and blockaded the city.

The proteſtants held an aſſembly at Leipſick in 1631, where they entered into debates concerning their reſpective intereſts. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony came to a reſolution to ſtand by the emperor, and to ſummon their arrier-ban, in order to oppoſe the Swedes.

In the mean while Guſtavus traverſed the Marck, to aſſiſt the duke of Mecklenburg. This prince, who was both the politician and the ſoldier, made his troops obſerve an exact diſcipline during their march; and he endeavoured to bring the proteſtants over to his intereſts, by declaring ſolemnly where-ever he came, that he had entered Germany with no other view than to reſcue the princes from the yoke which the emperor wanted to impoſe upon them, and to defend their religious liberties. He entered into an alliance at the ſame time with Lewis XIII. king of France, who had the ſame intereſt as himſelf to reduce the power of the emperor. This treaty was concluded at Berwald.

Tilly left a body of troops to continue the blockade

kade of Magdeburg, and joining the Imperialiſts at Frankfort on the Oder, he traverſed the Marck to attack the Swedes, who had over-run the duchy of Mecklenburg; but the fortune of Guſtavus prevailed over that of the Imperial general. The king of Sweden marched from the duchy of Mecklenburg to Schwet, where he paſſed the Oder, and laid ſiege to Frankfort, in which there was an Imperial gariſon of 7000 men. He carried the town by ſtorm, where he found a numerous train of artillery; and having afterwards made himſelf maſter of Lanſberg and Croſſen, he turned ſhort all of ſudden, and marched his army towards Berlin, in order to relieve Magdeburg, which was beſieged by Tilly in perſon.

As ſoon as Guſtavus arrived at Copenic, he ſent a meſſage to the elector, deſiring him to put the fortreſſes of Spandaw and Cuſtrin into his hands, in order to ſecure a retreat, in caſe of any misfortune. The elector, ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary a demand, was incapable of coming to any reſolution. A propoſal was therefore made of an interview between thoſe two princes. Accordingly they met in a little wood, about a quarter of a mile from Berlin; where the elector found Guſtavus-Adolphus guarded by a thouſand foot, and four pieces of cannon. Here the king renewed the ſame propoſals to the elector, who not being able to come to an immediate determination in this difficult dilemma, deſired half an hour to conſult with his miniſters, which was agreed to. In the mean while the Swediſh monarch entertained himſelf with the princeſſes and the ladies of the court: but as the elector, after all theſe deliberations, could come to no concluſion, he invited the king to go with him to Berlin. Guſtavus conſented,

and

and entered the city with his thouſand Swedes, two hundred of whom mounted guard at the caſtle of Berlin. The reſt of the ſoldiers were quartered upon the burghers. The day following, the whole Swediſh army came and encamped in the neighbourhood of this capital; and the elector, perceiving himſelf no longer maſter of his own reſidence, acquieſced to whatever Guſtavus deſired. The Swediſh gariſons of the fortreſſes of the Spandaw and Cuſtrin took the oath of fidelity to the elector; and the king gave his word, that he would give up thoſe fortreſſes again to the troops of Brandenburg, as ſoon as he ſhould have no further occaſion for them. Things being thus ſettled, Guſtavus advanced beyond Potzdam; upon whoſe approach the Imperialiſts, who were in poſſeſſion of Brandenburg and Ratenaw, retired, and joined the army that formed the ſiege of Magdeburg. The king ſent to the elector of Saxony, to deſire a paſſage over the Elbe, at the bridge of Wittenberg; but it was refuſed him, which hindred him from relieving Magdeburg.

This city, which Tilly and Papenheim had not been able to take by force, was ſurpriſed at length by ſtratagem. The Imperialiſts entered into a negotiation with the city of Magdeburg, by the interpoſition of the Hans-towns, and propoſed ſome advantageous conditions. During the conferences, they affected to leave off firing on the town; this deceived the Magdeburghers, whoſe vigilance was relaxed by this falſe ſecurity. For moſt of the burghers, who had been on guard all night upon the ramparts, went off towards morning. Papenheim, who had carried his approaches as far as the counterſcarp of the ditch, took notice of this neglect, and made a pro-

proper uſe of it; he ordered the town to be aſſailed in four places at once, and made himſelf maſter of the ramparts, without any great reſiſtance. The Croats marched along the Elbe, which at that time was very low, and paſſing the river, attacked the works on the other ſide. Upon this alarm, the gariſon and burghers drew up in a hurry in the public ſquares; but Tilly, having made himſelf maſter of the cannon of the ramparts, ordered them to be pointed directly againſt the ſtreets; and the Imperial troops pouring in at the ſame time in great numbers, it was in vain for the inhabitants to make any further reſiſtance. Thus this city, which had been one of the moſt flouriſhing in Germany, was unfortunately given up to the fury of the ſoldiers, who ranſacked and plundered it during the ſpace of three days.

All that the moſt unbridled licentiouſneſs and villany can invent, when men abandon themſelves to their fury, was committed by thoſe ſoldiers, who had been let looſe to glut their barbarous cruelty. Theſe inhuman plunderers put almoſt all the inhabitants to the ſword; only fourteen hundred, who had retired into the cathedral, and to whom Tilly gave quarters, were ſaved. After the pillage and maſſacre were over, they ſet the town on fire, and in a few hours the private houſes and public edifices were reduced to a heap of aſhes and ruins, like thoſe of Troy. In the whole town ſcarce 140 houſes were preſerved. It is ſaid, on this occaſion, that no leſs than twelve hundred maidens drowned themſelves in the Elbe, to preſerve their chaſtity from the dangers to which the violence of the ſoldiers might have expoſed it. Theſe examples are fine, but uncommon; and if to us they appear fabulous, it is owing either to the cor-

ruption

ruption of our morals, or to the want of ſufficient authority to aſcertain the fact.

After the taking of Magdeburg, Guſtavus came and encamped a ſecond time in the neighbourhood of Berlin. He was provoked at having miſcarried in his deſign, and laid the blame upon the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. The king ordered his artillery to be planted againſt the town, and at the ſame time demanded a paſſage for his army. George-William ſent the electreſs, and all the princeſſes of his court, to the Swediſh camp, to try to pacify this monarch, and came himſelf ſoon after: he granted, as it may well be imagined, every article the king demanded. Upon the elector's return, the king ordered him to be ſaluted by a diſcharge of his artillery. But as they forgot to turn them towards the fields, a great number of houſes and roofs were damaged by the cannon balls: this indeed was a civility a little of the Gothic and Herulian order. The day following the army defiled through the town, and paſſed the Spree.

The elector excuſed his conduct to the emperor, by alledging his incapacity of reſiſting the violence offered him by a foreign prince. Ferdinand anſwered him dryly, that the Swediſh troops would not ſpare the Marcks more than the Imperialiſts had done. The elector of Saxony, perceiving the ſucceſs of the Swediſh arms, embraced the ſide which fortune favoured, and ſet an example to all the proteſtant princes. The Swedes reſtored Spandaw and Cuſtrin to the elector, and over-run all Lower Saxony. They entered the old Marck, where the king poſſeſſed himſelf of the camp of Werben, which was vaſtly ſtrong, by its ſituation at the conflux of the Havel

Havel and the Elbe. Tilly, being uneaſy about Papenheim, who had been obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Magdeburg, quitted Thuringia to march to his relief, and advanced towards the Swediſh camp. The good genius of this prince, which favoured all his undertakings, ſuggeſted to him a ſcheme for ſurpriſing a vanguard of three regiments, which the Auſtrian general had detached too far from the main body of the army. Accordingly he ſurpriſed them, cut them in pieces, and returned to his camp at Werben. Tilly, in hopes to wipe off this diſgrace, wanted to attack the Swedes in their camp; but the ſituation appeared to him ſo ſtrong, and the diſpoſitions of the enemy to receive him ſo good, that he durſt not venture it. Being obliged to retire for want of proviſions, he marched to Hall, with an intention of taking Leipſick, and of obliging the elector of Saxony to renounce his engagements with the Swedes. Guſtavus, aware of his deſign, quitted his ſtrong camp at Werben, paſſed the Elbe at Wittenberg, joined the Saxons at Duben, and fell upon the Imperialiſts, whom he totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Leipſick. Among the numerous artillery which the king took in that battle, there were ſeveral pieces marked with the arms of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Brunſwick, which the Imperialiſts had appropriated to themſelves by the right of conveniency. Tilly, after the loſs of ſix thouſand men upon the ſpot, was obliged to fly, and collected the remains of his ſhattered army in Thuringia. We ſhall not follow the Swedes in the courſe of their victories: it is ſufficient to mention, that Guſtavus was become the arbiter of Germany, by penetrating as far as the Danube; while Bannier, with another body of

troops, made himſelf maſter of the open country round Magdeburg, where the Imperialiſts had ſtill a ſtrong gariſon. The Swedes, who were now maſters, eſtabliſhed a regency in the provinces of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt.

At the beginning of the year 1632 died Sigiſmund king of Poland; and Uladiſlaus was choſen to fill the vacant throne. The Swedes did not ſleep over their laurels, but came to lay ſiege to Magdeburg. Papenheim, who was in the duchy of Brunſwick, flew to the aſſiſtance of the Imperialiſts; and Bannier raiſed the ſiege upon his approach. But the duke of Lunenburg having entered into the alliance of Leipſick, came with a fine army to join the Swedes. Papenheim finding himſelf then too weak to reſiſt thoſe united forces, evacuated the city of Magdeburg, abandoned the open country, and retired into Weſtphalia and Franconia, whither the enemy followed him. The Swedes took poſſeſſion of Magdeburg; and the few that remained of the ancient inhabitants begun to repair the ruins of their country, and to rebuild their habitations.

The emperor being grown more gentle by the ill ſucceſs of his arms, began to tamper with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; in order to draw them off from their Swediſh alliance; but his endeavours proved unſucceſsful. George-William went even ſo far as to ſend ſome ſmall ſuccours to the Saxons, who were in purſuit of a body of Imperial troops in Sileſia, commanded by Balthaſar de Maradas. The emperor, provoked at this irruption into Sileſia, and deſirous to ſhew his reſentment for the denial which had been given him by thoſe two electors, ſent an army, under the command of Walſtein, to ſeize on

on their electorates. Papenheim left Weſtphalia to join Walſtein; and theſe generals taking advantage of the abſence of the king of Sweden, who was then in Bavaria, made themſelves maſters of Leipſick, Naumburg, Mersburg, Hall, and Gibichinſtein. Lower Saxony would have been ravaged anew, if the king of Sweden had not flown to its aſſiſtance. He came, he died, and dying won the famous battle of Lutzen. The Swedes, tho' conquerors, looked upon themſelves as beaten, having their hero no longer at their head; and the Imperialiſts, though beaten, thought themſelves victorious, having no longer Guſtavus Adolphus to dread. After the death of Turenne, the French army retreated, and repaſſed the Rhine; after the death of Guſtavus Adolphus, the Swedes drove the Imperialiſts out of Lower Saxony; and all towns which had been taken by Walſtein, were retaken by the elector of Saxony in 1633. Oxenſtiern had after this the direction of affairs in Germany; and the Swedes concluded an alliance at Heilbrun, with the circles of Franconia, Suabia, the Upper and Lower Rhine.

Tho' the elector did not join in the alliance of Heilbrun, yet he made ſome efforts in favour of the common cauſe, by ſending a few ſuccours to Arnheim, who commanded the Saxon troops in Sileſia. The elector's whole forces at that time conſiſted of no more than 3000 horſe and 5000 foot. At the approach of Walſtein and Galas he called a kind of arrierban, or rather a general riſing of all his ſubjects.

Walſtein entered Sileſia at the head of an army of 45000 men, and amuſed Arnheim with feigned propoſals of accommodation. He ſeemed to threaten Saxony: Arnheim was deceived by this ſtratagem;

for while he covered that electorate, the Imperial general turned unexpectedly towards the bridge of Steinaw, where he defeated 800 Swedes ; after which he retook Frankfort, and ſent out parties that ravaged Pomerania and the Marck. He ſummoned Berlin to bring him the keys; but hearing at the ſame time that Bernard of Weimar had taken Ratiſbon, and that nine thouſand Saxons and Brandenburghers were advancing towards him, he abandoned all his projects. Berlin was covered by Arnheim and Bannier ; and Walſtein retired into Sileſia, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in Frankfort and ſome other towns.

Oxenſtiern having found his advantage in the alliance which he had concluded at Heilbrun in 1634, with the four circles, propoſed another of the ſame nature to the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony. It was concluded at Halberſtadt ; and the principal contracting parties were the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. This Swediſh miniſter pulled off the maſk at the aſſembly of Frankfort on the Main, where he propoſed to the ſtates, without any kind of diſguiſe, to yield Pomerania to Sweden after the death of the laſt duke, as an indemnity for the expences which that crown had been at to ſupport the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany. The elector of Brandenburg was highly irritated at this propoſal. It was indeed too precipitate ; nor ſhould Oxenſtiern have made it, till conjunctures had been ſo favourable as to permit him to oppoſe openly the pretenſions of George-William, without endangering the intereſts of Sweden. In the mean while the elector, with the aſſiſtance of the Swediſh troops, found himſelf at the head of 20000 men, ſcarce the ſixth part of

of whom belonged to him. The names of the regiments of Brandenburg that were in that army, are theſe ; Borſdorff, Wolckmann, Frances Lauenburg, Conrad Borſdorff, and Ehrenreich Borſdorff. He took Frankfort on the Oder, where the gariſon conſiſting of 1000 men were allowed to march out by capitulation ; and the Imperial gariſon of Croſſen marched out with white ſticks in their hands. But theſe ſmall ſucceſſes were ſufficiently counter-balanced by the news he received, that the archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal Infant had gained a compleat victory over the Swedes at Nordlingen. The elector of Saxony could not bear that Oxenſtiern ſhould have the direction of the affairs in Germany preferable to himſelf; and George-William was greatly incenſed at the propoſal made by Oxenſtiern at the aſſembly of Frankfort.

Theſe pacific diſpoſitions produced a very ſpeedy effect. The emperor, deſirous of dividing Germany that had been leagued againſt him, laid hold of the opportunity with eagerneſs, and a peace was concluded at Prague the 20th of March in the year 1635. The conditions were, that the elector of Saxony's ſecond ſon ſhould continue adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, and that the four bailiwicks diſmembred from that archbiſhoprick * ſhould be left to Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg had aſſurances given him, that his rights to Pomerania ſhould be maintained ; and the emperor engaged, not to reclaim the church lands poſſeſſed by the proteſtants, and to confirm the pacts of confraternity between the houſes of Brandenburg, Saxony and Heſſe.

After the concluſion of this peace, the Saxon and Im-

* Querfurt, Joterbock, Bock, and Damme.

Imperial troops cleared the country of Halberſtadt and Magdeburg of the Swedes by whom it was ſtill infeſted; but the capital held out for the Swedes. The duchy of Mecklenburg, the Old Marck, and Pomerania, were expoſed anew to the calamities of war; the Swedes made incurſions as far as Oranienburg, and the Saxons and Imperialiſts extended themſelves along the banks of the Elbe and the Havel.

Bannier, whoſe attention was fixt upon preſerving Pomerania for the crown of Sweden, aſſembled his troops at Ratenaw, and marched by Wittenberg to Hall, in order to keep off the war from the frontiers of Pomerania, and at the ſame time to relieve the Swediſh gariſon that was ſtraitned at Magdeburg. The elector of Saxony marched with all expedition into Miſnia, where he joined the Imperial troops commanded by Moroſini. The ſeat of war was confined for a while to the banks of the Sale; but at length the Saxons obliged Bannier to retire, and the Imperialiſts became maſters once more of Magdeburg. Bannier retreated into the country of Lunenburg, and from thence into the Marck. Here he was joined by Wrangel, with a reinforcement of 8000 men; upon which they ſurpriſed Brandenburg, and carried Ratenaw by ſtorm, where there was an Imperial gariſon, Thus this poor electorate was a prey to the firſt comer, ranſacked, pillaged, and laid waſte alike by foe and friend. All the towns along the Havel were pillaged twice by the Swedes, and once by the Imperialiſts, in leſs then ſix weeks. This devaſtation was univerſal; the country, properly ſpeaking, was not ranſacked, but utterly deſtroyed.

Such was the unhappy fate of the Marck, that fortune ſeemed determined to perpetuate the war, by never

never declaring herſelf entirely in favour of one ſide. The Swedes unexpectedly reſumed their ſuperiority. Bannier gained a victory at Witſtock over the Imperialiſts and Saxons; the vanquiſhed troops never halted till they got to Leipſick; the Swedes improved their advantages, and again overrun the Marck. Wrangel came before Berlin, where he put a gariſon of five companies, and inſiſted again upon the elector's delivering up his fortreſſes. George-William, who was at Peitz, made anſwer, that he was entirely at the diſcretion of the Swedes; but as his fortreſſes were gariſoned by Imperial troops, it was not in his power to do as he pleaſed. Wrangel then quartered his army in the New Marck.

The emperor Ferdinand II. the tyrant and oppreſſor of Germany, died at length in 1637, and his ſon Ferdinand III. who was already king of the Romans, ſucceeded him, as if this throne had been hereditary. During theſe troubles died Bogiſlaus, duke of Pomerania, whoſe family had been poſſeſſed of this duchy 700 years, and in him that family became extinct. As the Swedes were maſters of Pomerania, and even of the electorate itſelf, the elector was unable to aſſert his rights; he was ſatisfied with ſending a trumpet to the ſtates of Pomerania, ordering them to fall upon the Swedes. This extraordinary embaſſy had no effect; and I believe it is the only inſtance in hiſtory of a trumpet's having been charged with the like commiſſion.

In the mean while the Imperialiſts, under the command of Hatzfeld and Moroſini, drove Bannier out of Saxony, purſued him beyond Schwet, and retook Landsberg. At the ſame time Klitzing, the Saxon general, cleared the Marck and the banks

of the Havel, by driving away the Swedes. The war, which continually ſhifted from one province to another, was removed again to Pomerania; and the Imperialiſts received a reinforcement of three thouſand Hungarians. Theſe, I believe, were the firſt of that nation, that were ever employed by the Imperialiſts out of their own country. Pomerania underwent the ſame fate as the Marck; and being expoſed to the ſame incurſions, was taken, retaken, burnt, and deſtroyed.

In 1638 the Swedes received a reinforcement, which ſeemed to come only to perpetuate the war, with all the horrors that attend it. They drove the Imperialiſts and Saxons out of Pomerania, broke into the Marck, burnt Bernaw, defeated 7000 Saxons commanded by Moroſini, and obliged Galas, the Imperial general, to fly before them as far as Bohemia. Notwithſtanding this reverſe of fortune, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony continued firmly united to the emperor.

Thus the Swedes appeared in 1639, for the fourth time, before the gates of Berlin. The Brandenburghers, however, made an unexpected diverſion upon them, by falling upon Livonia with 4000 men from Pruſſia; but as they neglected to make themſelves maſters of ſome of the ſtrong-holds, they were obliged to relinquiſh their conqueſts, and the expedition came to nothing. The Swedes revenged themſelves upon the Marck for their loſſes in Livonia; for when they drew near to Berlin, the gariſon, which conſiſted only of 400 men, retired; and the town immediately ſurrendered; they likewiſe ſurpriſed 1500 Brandenburghers at Bernaw, who were under the command of Borſdorff. Devitz directed his march towards

towards Sileſia, and Bannier fell to plundering again the electorate of Saxony and the country of Halberſtadt.

Axelille, who commanded at Berlin in 1640, kept Spandaw cloſely blocked up, but was leſs ſtrict in the blockade of Cuſtrin, where the elector had retired for ſhelter; the ravages and extortions of the Swedes were almoſt incredible. The ſtates of Pomerania held their aſſembly, to which the elector ſent his deputies. The reſolutions of theſe ſtates were not favourable to the Swedes; and the elector's commiſſaries took place as repreſentatives of the duke of Wolgaſt and Stettin, at the diet of Ratiſbon. The ſame year George-William took a journey into Pruſſia, in order to convcen the ſtates at Koningſberg, and to demand of them the arrears of ſome ſubſidies due to him; but he died there the third of December, leaving to his ſon Frederick-William a deſolate country, void of all reſource either in troops or money.

We cannot, without offending the laws of equity, charge George-William with all the misfortunes that happened to him. He was guilty, however, of two very capital miſtakes. One was his not raiſing an army of 20000 men, which he was able to maintain, and which would have enabled him to ſupport his rights to the ſucceſſion of Cleves, and might have been ſtill more uſefully employed in the defence of his country: the other was his placing ſo unlimited a confidence in his miniſter the count of Schwartzenberg, who had ſold himſelf to the Imperial court, and whoſe ambitious views tended even to render himſelf maſter of the Marck. The complication of odd conjunctures this prince was in left him only the

the liberty of chuſing the leaſt of two evils. He was under a neceſſity of chuſing between the Imperialiſts and the Swedes, which he would prefer as friends or maſters. The edict of reſtitution, the deſigns of the Imperial court upon Magdeburg, and liberty of conſcience, ought naturally to have inſpired George-William with an averſion to Ferdinand II. but by joining with the king of Sweden, whoſe intention was to acquire Pomerania, he became ſubſervient to his enemy in depriving himſelf of his juſt inheritance. On the one hand he was greatly diſpleaſed with the emperor's ſeverity, which induced him to liſten to the inſinuating artifices of the Swedes; and on the other, he was provoked at the Swediſh uſurpations, which made him apply to the court of Vienna for ſuccour. This tickliſh ſituation was the cauſe of his changing ſides continually, and joining with the ſtrongeſt; and the inconſtancy of fortune, which alternately favoured the Swedes and Imperialiſts, did not give his allies even time to protect him.

FREDERICK-WILLIAM, *ſurnamed* THE GREAT.

Frederick-William was born at Berlin the 6th of February 1620. He was ſurnamed the Great, and was really ſo. He was a prince that may be ſaid to have been formed by heaven to redreſs by his vigilance and activity the diſorder and confuſion into which his territories had been thrown by the indolence of the preceeding reign; to be the reſtorer and defender of his country; and the glory and honour of his family. Nature ſeemed by miſtake to have united in his perſon the ſoul of a great king, with the moderate fortune

tune of an elector: and indeed his ſpirit was much ſuperior to his ſtation. Europe in him beheld a prince, whoſe actions diſplayed the noble ſoul, and the ſuperior genius; one while tempered by prudence, another time bearing that character of enthuſiaſm, which forces our admiration: a prince, who conſtantly repaired his loſſes, without foreign ſuccours; who formed all his projects himſelf, and put them in execution: who by his wiſdom retrieved a deſolate country; by his policy and prudence acquired new territories; by his valour aſſiſted his allies, and defended his people: a prince, in fine, who was equally great in all his undertakings.

Frederick-William was twenty years of age, when he came to the adminiſtration. His education was like that of Philoctetes; he underſtood how to conquer, at an age when the generality of mankind ſeek only for amuſements. He had learnt the military art under Frederick-Henry, prince of Orange; and was preſent at the ſieges of fort Schenck and Breda. Count Schwartzenberg, miniſter to George-William, who was uneaſy to ſee, in the character of this young prince, the early ſparkles of that fire which afterwards made ſo bright a flame, kept him at as much diſtance as he could from the court, being convinced that his conduct would not bear the examination of ſo vigilant an inſpector. The young prince nevertheleſs returned to his father, in ſpite of the miniſter, and went with him to Pruſſia, where by the deceaſe of George-William he took poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions.

But this ſucceſſion was in great part in the hands of the Swedes, who had reduced the electorate of Brandenburg to a frightful deſert; where towns were traced only by rubbiſh and ruins, and villages by

heaps

heaps of aſhes, which hindered the graſs from growing.

Nor were the duchies of Cleves, and of the Marck, more happy; the produce of theſe provinces was divided between the Spaniards and the Dutch, who plundered them alternately, by raiſing exorbitant contributions, under a pretence of defending them.

Pruſſia, which had been ſeized by Guſtavus-Adolphus, was ſtill bleeding of the wounds it had received from the war. Under theſe deſperate circumſtances Frederick-William began his reign: though he was a prince without territories, an elector without power, a ſucceſſor without inheritance, and juſt in the flower of his youth; an age which, expoſed to the vivacity of paſſions, renders mankind almoſt incapable of direction; yet he gave marks of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and of every virtue that could render him worthy of command.

He regulated his finances, proportioned his expences to his revenues, and got rid of thoſe ignorant or corrupt miniſters, who had contributed to the miſery of his people. The count of Schwartzenberg was the firſt whom he diſmiſſed: this count was great commander of Malta, governor of the Marck, preſident of the council, and great chamberlain. And if there had been any other more important employments, he would have had them all; for both the council and court of George-William were concentered in one perſon. This count, who had ſold himſelf to the houſe of Auſtria, returned to Vienna, where he died the ſame year.

After the death of Schwartzenberg, the elector ſent baron Borgſdorff to Spandaw and Cuſtrin, to ſet his ſeal to the effects of the deceaſed. The governors

vernors of thoſe two fortreſſes refuſed to obey him, under a pretence that they durſt not do it without expreſs orders from the emperor, to whom they had taken the oaths of fidelity. Borgſdorff diſſembling the inſolence of this behaviour, lay in wait for Rochow, governor of Spandaw, and ſecured him, as he imprudently came out of the fortreſs. The elector ordered this rebel to be beheaded; upon which the governors of his other fortreſſes returned to their duty.

Frederick-William received in perſon the inveſtiture of Pruſſia in 1641, from the hands of Ladiſlaus king of Poland. The elector engaged to pay an annual tribute of 120,000 florins to that crown, and to make neither peace nor truce with her enemies.

Baron de Leben received, in his name, in 1642, the inveſtiture of the electorate, of the emperor Ferdinand III. but he could not obtain that of the duchy of Cleves, becauſe this ſucceſſion was ſtill in litigation.

After having diſcharged this kind of duties, he turned his thoughts towards eaſing his people, being deſirous of delivering his territories from that miſerable ſituation into which they had been plunged. By his negotiations he entered into the poſſeſſion of his dominions that were withheld from him; and he concluded a truce for twenty years with the Swedes *, who evacuated the greateſt part of the Marcks of Brandenburg. He paid the Swediſh gariſons, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome towns, 140,000 crowns, which amounts to near 200,000 of our preſent money, and a thouſand buſhels of corn a-year. He concluded a treaty in 1644 with the Heſſians, who reſtored

* At Stockholm; Gotze and Leuchtmer were his envoys.

ſtored to him part of the duchy of Cleves, which had been in their poſſeſſion; and he prevailed upon the Dutch to evacuate ſome other towns.

The powers of Europe, who now began to feel the weight of a long and ruinous war, gave ear at length to propoſals of peace. The cities of Munſter and Oſnabrug were pitched upon as proper places for opening the conferences; and the elector ſent his miniſters thither.

The great variety of ſubjects that were to be debated, the complication of cauſes, the multitude of ſovereigns who were to be pleaſed, the different pretenſions upon the ſame provinces, religion, pre-eminences, the ſettling the proper bounds of the Imperial authority, and of the Germanic liberty; all this perplexed chaos kept the miniſters employed till the year 1647, when they agreed upon the principal articles.

It is not at all neceſſary to copy here the treaty of Weſtphalia, on which a laborious author has wrote a learned and uſeful treatiſe; I ſhall be ſatisfied with giving ſuch heads of it as any way relate to the hiſtory of Brandenburg.

France having eſpouſed the intereſts of Sweden, inſiſted upon Pomerania as an indemnity for the expences which Guſtavus Adolphus and his ſucceſſors had been at to maintain the war; but the elector and the empire refuſed to give their conſent. Frederick-William at length agreed to yield to the Swedes the Hither Pomerania, the iſles of Rugen and Wollin, the cities of Stettin, Gartz, and Golnow, and the three mouths of the Oder; adding, that if the male deſcendents of the electoral line ſhould come to be extinct, Pomerania and the new Marck ſhould devolve

devolve to Sweden; and that, in the mean time, both houſes ſhould bear the arms of thoſe provinces. In return, as an equivalent for the ceſſions made by the elector, the biſhopricks of Halberſtadt, Minden, and Camin, were ſecularized; and he was immediately put into the poſſeſſion of them, as alſo of the counties of Hohenſtein and Richenſtein. He had likewiſe the expectancy given him of the archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg, of which Auguſtus of Saxony was then adminiſtrator.

This peace, which is conſidered as the baſis of all the poſſeſſions and rights of the ſeveral princes of Germany, and of which Lewis XIV. became guarantee, was publiſhed in the year 1648.

Tho' the elector's intereſts had been thus ſettled, he was yet obliged to make a new treaty with the Swedes in 1649, for the regulation of diſputed limits, and for the dicharging of ſome debts, of which Sweden paid only a fourth part. But the electorate, Pomerania, and the duchy of Cleves, were not entirely evacuated by the Dutch and the Swedes, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome places, till the year 1650.

The duke of Neuburg had like to have thrown things into the ſame confuſion, from which they had been ſo lately, and with ſo much difficulty, diſimbaraſſed, by perſecuting the proteſtants of Juliers. Frederick-William took them under his protection, and ſent general Spaar with a body of troops into that duke's teritories: at the ſame time making propoſals of accommodation to him, by the mediation of the Dutch.

During theſe tranſactions, Charles IV. duke of Lorrain, a wandering prince, who was expelled his dominions by the power of France, and led rather the

the life of a Tartar than of a ſovereign, came to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Neuburg. Upon his arrival, the pacific diſpoſitions of both parties were very near vaniſhing; but at length they came to an agreement. With regard to the order of their poſſeſſions, they ſtuck to the treaty of Weſtphalia *; and as to the article of liberty of conſcience, it was agreed to abide by thoſe treaties which had been made in favour of the proteſtants, from the year 1612 to 1647.

There happened an event at that time in Sweden, in 1654, which, from its extraordinary nature, engroſſed the attention of all Europe.

Queen Chriſtina abdicated the throne in favour of her couſin Charles-Guſtavus, prince of Deuxponts. This action was cenſured by the politicians, eſpecially by thoſe who judge of human conduct only by principles of intereſt and ambition. Thoſe who pretended to the greateſt penetration, would have it, that the young queen reſigned the regal dignity, merely becauſe of the averſion ſhe had conceived to Charles-Guſtavus, whom ſhe was ſollicited to marry. The learned were too profuſe in their panegyrics upon this princeſs, for having ſacrificed, at ſo tender an age, the glittering charms of grandeur to the more ſolid pleaſures of philoſophy. But if ſhe had been really a philoſopher, her glory would never have been ſullied by the murder of Monaldeſchi, nor by the continual uneaſineſs and regret which ſhe ſhewed at Rome after her abdication. In the opinion of the moſt judicious, the conduct of this princeſs could not but appear extraordinary. She merited

* The duchy of Cleves, the Marck, and Ravensburg fell to the elector's ſhare; Juliers, Bergues, and Ravenſtein to the duke.

ted neither praiſe nor blame for having abdicated the throne. An action of that nature cannot be called great, but from the importance of the motives that determine it, from the circumſtances that attend it, and from the magnanimity with which it is afterwards ſupported.

Scarce had Charles-Guſtavus aſcended the throne, when he ſhewed his ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the military art. The truce which Guſtavus-Adolphus had concluded with Poland, was within ſix years of its expiration. His deſign was to oblige John Caſimir, who in 1648 ſucceeded Ladiſlaus, to renounce all the pretenſions which the crown of Poland formed on Sweden, and to yield Livonia to him. Frederick-William, who miſtruſted the Swedes, ſaw into their deſigns; but in order to amuſe Sweden, he mediated a reconciliation between the Swediſh regency of Stade, and the city of Bremen, whoſe diſputes related to the liberties of this Hans-town.

Charles-Guſtavus pretended, that his military preparations were deſigned againſt Ruſſia, and ſent a meſſage to the elector, deſiring him to put into his hands the ports of Pillaw and Memel, in the ſame manner as Guſtavus-Adolphus inſiſted upon George-William's delivering up the fortreſſes of Spandaw and Cuſtrin. But the ſcene was changed; Frederick-William had too brave and generous a ſoul to ſtoop to ſuch a condeſcenſion. He boldly rejected ſo inſolent a propoſal; and made anſwer, That if the king of Sweden really intended to attack the Ruſſians, he would engage to aſſiſt him with a body of 8000 men; pretending, that the progreſs of the Ruſſian arms in Poland rendered him apprehenſive, leſt they

ſhould draw near to his own frontiers. This artful and polite evaſion gave the Swedes to underſtand, that the elector wanted neither courage nor ſenſe.

The republic of Poland having been appriſed by the elector of the danger that threatned her, entreated him to aſſiſt her with his artillery, troops, and good counſels. This entreaty was followed with an embaſſy, deſiring him to mediate a reconciliation between her and Sweden; and to this ſoon ſucceeded another, preſſing him to furniſh the ſubſidies neceſſary for the expence of the war,

The elector, who was well acquainted with the nature of the tumultuous deliberations of this republic, always ready to declare war, without ever preparing the means to ſupport it, exhauſted by the rapine of the great, uncertain in her reſolutions, ill obeyed by her troops, and inconſtant in her engagements, made anſwer, that he would neither take the misfortunes, which they apprehended, upon himſelf, nor ſacrifice his own intereſts for an ungrateful nation. In order, therefore, to provide for the ſecurity of his dominions, he entered into a defenſive alliance with the Dutch for eight years; and he courted the friendſhip of Cromwell, that fortunate uſurper, who had gained in his lifetime the title of protector of his country, which poſterity changed into that of a tyrant. He tried to make an alliance with Lewis XIV. who, after the treaty of Weſtphalia, was become the arbiter of Europe. He flattered the imperious humour of Ferdinand III. in order to engage him in his intereſt; but he received no other anſwer from thoſe princes,. but compliments and empty ſpeeches.

It was not long before Charles-Guſtavus confirmed the

the elector's ſuſpicions. General Wertenberg traverſed the new Marck with a body of Swediſh troops, without permiſſion obtained, and drew near the frontiers of Poland. No ſooner had Steinbock attacked that kingdom, than two Palatinates of the Upper Poland ſubmitted to the Swedes.

Frederick-William, perceiving that the whole ſtreſs of the war would be towards the frontiers of Pruſſia, marched his army thither in perſon, in order to be ready to concert proper meaſures, and to put them immediately in execution. At Marienburg he concluded a defenſive alliance with the ſtates of Poliſh Pruſſia. The chief articles were, the agreement of a mutual ſuccour of 4000 men, promiſed by the contracting parties, and the maintenance of the Brandenburg gariſons at Marienburg, Grodentz, and other towns.

The Swedes were not at that time the only enemies of the Poles. The Czar of Muſcovy had penetrated the year before into Lithuania with a numerous army. The pretext of this irruption was a frivolous omiſſion of ſome titles, which the Poliſh chancery had forgot to give to the Czar. Strange, that a nation, which did not perhaps know even ſo much as how to read, ſhould go to war with her neighbours for ſuch a grammatical trifle as the ſubſcription of a letter!

Charles-Guſtavus, taking an advantage of the perplexity of his enemies, made in a very ſhort time a conſiderable progreſs. He marched his army into Pruſſia, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the elector; his troops took up their quarters in Ducal Pruſſia, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Konigſberg.

The elector, to whom the Swedes had more than

once offered advantageous conditions, was come now to the critical moment, in which he could not continue his neutrality, without expoſing Pruſſia to inevitable ruin. He followed therefore the road which the ſucceſs of the Swediſh arms pointed out to him, and concluded a treaty with that crown at Konigſberg in 1656, by which he acknowledged himſelf a vaſſal of Sweden, and promiſed to yield homage for Ducal Pruſſia, on condition that the biſhoprick of Warmia ſhould be ſecularized in his favour. In order to ſtrengthen this new alliance, he concluded another with Lewis XIV. who guarantied to him his poſſeſſions in Weſtphalia, and upon the Rhine. Not long after * he changed his treaty with the Swedes into an offenſive alliance. The king and the elector had an interview in Poland, where they ſettled the operations of the campaign, and particularly agreed to retake Warſaw from the Poles, who had driven the Swedes from that city.

The elector marched his troops afterwards through Maſſovia, and joined the Swediſh army at the confluence of the Viſtula and the Bock. The allies paſſed the Bock, and at the ſame time the Poliſh army paſſed the Viſtula at Warſaw; ſo that there was no further obſtacle to hinder them from coming to action.

The French miniſters, d'Avaujour and de Lombres, flattered themſelves with the hopes of reconciling the contending parties, by their negotiations. With this intent they went from one camp to the other; but the Poles, confiding in their ſuperior numbers, being 40,000 ſtrong, deſpiſed the others, whoſe forces ſcarce amounted to 16,000 men, and inſolently rejected every propoſal made to them.

The

* At Marienburg.

The Poles were ſtrongly intrenched in their camp, their right extending towards a moraſs, and the Viſtula covering their rear towards the left, in a tranſverſe line; in which ſituation Charles-Guſtavus and Frederick-William marched up to them.

The king paſſed through a ſmall wood, with his right to the Viſtula; but the ground was ſo narrow, that when his troops were drawn out, he could preſent only a ſingle front, of twelve ſquadrons and three battalions, to the enemy. He was obliged therefore to form his men in columns, and the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes and canonading. The infantry did not come up till late; the elector, who had the command of the left, covered it as well as he could with the wood, which had been juſt paſſed by the right wing; and the army continued thus under arms all night.

The day following, which was the 29th of July, the elector took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, ſituated towards his left; from whence he diſcovered a ſmooth open plain, proper for extending the troops beyond this little wood. He ordered his column to file off to the left, ſtretching along the plain, and flanked it with ſix ſquadrons. The Tartars perceiving this motion, attacked the elector on all ſides, but were repulſed; and his whole left wing formed themſelves on the plain. The Tartars made a new attack, which ſucceeded as ill as the firſt; upon which they retired in confuſion.

The king finding it impoſſible to attack the enemy's intrenchments on the ſide of the Viſtula, made a diſpoſition for a new attack. A motion of the Poliſh infantry, which ſeemed to indicate their intent of marching out of their intrenchments, retarded him for ſome time; but a few Swediſh cannon, which

 were

were levelled againſt the Poliſh intrenchments, did ſuch execution, as often as the Poles attempted to march out, that they were obliged to return to their intrenchments in confuſion. Charles-Guſtavus wanted only this opportunity to change his order of battle. The Swedes, who were in the right wing, traverſed the wood, and came and formed themſelves on the plain, to the left of the Brandenburghers, who were already drawn up there.

At the ſame time the Poliſh army marched out of their intrenchments by their right, and formed a front ſuperior to that of the allies. Their whole cavalry was to the right, covered by a village lined with infantry, and by a battery placed on an eminence. The king of Sweden advanced beyond them, and took them in flank. Upon which the Poles ſet fire to the village, and abandoned it, rallying behind another village, which was covered by a moraſs. The king purſued them, and took them once more in flank, which obliged the Poles to ſet fire alſo to this village, and to retire as before. In this critical ſituation, the Poliſh cavalry made a general effort, and attacked the allies at the ſame time in the rear, in flank, and in front; but as this was foreſeen, and there were troops prepared to receive them, the reſerve diſengaged the rear, and the Poles were repulſed on all ſides with conſiderable loſs. The night coming on deprived the Swedes this time of a compleat victory; and they waited for the return of day-light on the field of battle, all under arms.

At day-break, which was the 30th of July, the king thought fit to make ſome new diſpoſitions. He formed his two lines of infantry, the cavalry was placed in a third, as a reſerve to the right, where the

the elector was himſelf in perſon, with the cuiraſſiers and dragoons of Brandenburg.

As the enemy were ſtill in poſſeſſion of a wood over-againſt the left, a brigade of artillery was detached thither, ſupported by 500 horſe. After a ſhort cannonading, the cavalry drove the enemy from the wood, which was immediately occupied by 200 foot. The elector then attacked the Poliſh cavalry, who were drawn up on an eminence, drove them into the moraſſes, and intirely diſperſed them. The Poliſh infantry finding themſelves abandoned, and having loſt their cannon, gave way immediately, without waiting for the enemy, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The vanquiſhed army repaſſed the Viſtula, and abandoned Warſaw, which ſurrendered the next day to the conquerors.

The Poliſh army loſt 6000 men in the different engagements of thoſe three days; and the allies being haraſſed with faſting all that time, were not able to purſue them.

John Caſimir had been preſent himſelf at the defeat of his troops; the queen likewiſe, and ſome of the principal ladies of the kingdom, beheld it from the bridge of the Viſtula; but they contributed only to increaſe the ſhame and confuſion of a total defeat.

After the victorious army had reſted ſome time, they made a march of ſix German miles in purſuit of the enemy. But the elector having received advice, that a body of Tartarian irregulars had made incurſions into Pruſſia, he left a detachment of his troops with the king of Sweden, and returned with the main body of his army to cover his own frontiers. He acquainted the emperor with the news of this victory;

and this prince, who in his heart was far from being pleaſed with the elector's extraordinary ſucceſs, gave him no other anſwer, than "that he pitied the Poles for having two ſuch brave princes to deal with."

Frederick-William, obſerving the great need which Charles-Guſtavus had of his aſſiſtance, made ſo good an uſe of it, as to obtain the intire ſovereignty of Pruſſia by the treaty of Libau; and Sweden reſerved to herſelf only the eventual ſucceſſion.

The emperor, who at that time, in 1657, enjoyed a profound peace, ſeemed deſirous of concerning himſelf in the troubles of Poland, either with a view of defending that nation, or of promoting his own private advantage. Accordingly he ſent Hatzfeldt with 16,000 men to the aſſiſtance of this republic: and Denmark at the ſame time eſpouſed her quarrel out of hatred to Sweden. Ferdinand III. not ſatisfied with aſſiſting the Poles with his troops, endeavoured alſo by his perſuaſions to rid them of a formidable enemy, ſoliciting Frederick-William in the ſtrongeſt terms to break with the Swedes. This powerful alliance was to Guſtavus a certain omen of the inconſtancy of fortune.

The elector, thus preſſed on all ſides, reſolved to prevent the laws of neceſſity; and with a good grace he conſented to what he could not avoid granting to the ſuperior force of a diverſion, which the emperor and the king of Denmark were capable of making in his territories. He ſigned a peace with the Poles at Velaw; by which this crown acknowledged the ſovereignty of Pruſſia, and yielded to him the bailiwicks of Lawenburg and Butaw, as an indemnification for the biſhoprick of Warmia. The city of Elbing was likewiſe mortgaged to him for a ſum of money;

money; and the ſucceſſion of Pruſſia was extended to his couſins the margraves of Franconia. Poland and Brandenburg promiſed to aſſiſt each other with 2000 men; the elector evacuated all the towns of Poland, that had been gariſoned by his troops; and this important treaty was ratified at Braunſberg.

The elector, by abandoning the Swedes, broke in ſome meaſure alſo with France; he thought it therefore neceſſary to ſupply his old alliances with new ones; and concluded a treaty with the emperor and the king of Denmark. Ferdinand III. engaged to furniſh a body of 6000 men, and Frederick-William a contingent of 3500, in caſe either of the contracting parties ſhould want the other's aſſiſtance.

At that time the imperial throne, which was become vacant by the death of Ferdinand III. was filled by the archduke Leopold, whom his father had cauſed to be created king of the Romans, as early as 1653, in ſpite of the golden bull, and contrary to the opinion of the princes of the empire.

Charles-Guſtavus being highly provoked againſt the emperor and the king of Denmark, for defeating the vaſt projects which he had formed againſt Sweden, in their very infancy, revenged himſelf upon Zealand, where he made an irruption, and obliged Frederick III. king of Denmark to clap up a peace, which was ſigned at Rodſchidt. Scarce had this peace been concluded, when it was broke through again by the king of Denmark, who, as ſoon as he was at liberty, annulled a treaty which he had ſigned through conſtraint. Frederick III. tho' the aggreſſor, ſolicited the elector to aſſiſt him againſt Sweden, and his requeſt was granted.

Frederick

Frederick-William made the prince of Anhault governor of his dominions during his abſence, and ſet out from Berlin at the head of his cavalry, and three thouſand imperial cuiraſſiers. He obliged the Swedes, who were quartered in the duchy of Holſtein, to retire beyond the Eider, and threw a gariſon of Imperialiſts and Brandenburghers into Gottorp; and, after having driven the Swedes from the iſle of Aland, he put his army into winter quarters in Jutland.

The year following, in 1659, he opened the campaign with the taking of Friderichſoude, and of the iſle of Fionica; but he failed in his attempt upon the iſle of Fuhnen, by the diſappointment which he met with in diſembarking his troops, the tranſport veſſels having been diſperſed by eight Swediſh men of war.

In order to divide the Swediſh forces, De Souches marched into the Hither Pomerania, with a body of Imperialiſts *, and two thouſand Brandenburghers. This general, and Staremberg, having made themſelves maſters of ſome ſmall towns, and of the iſle of Wolin, laid ſiege to Stettin. Wurtz, who was the governor, made a very brave defence. The news of this expedition was ſoon brought to Denmark. As ſoon as Wrangel heard it, he flew to the defence of Pomerania, and landing his troops at Stralſund, he ſurpriſed 1200 Brndenburghers in the iſle of Uſedom, and threw a reinforcement of 1600 men into Stettin.

Wurſt did not let his troops ly idle, but made a furious ſally, drove the Imperialiſts from their approaches, nailed up their cannon, flung their camp into a general conſternation, and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege, which had laſted forty-ſix days.

The

* Commanded by general de Dohna.

The elector, finding the war was drawing towards his own frontiers, drew his troops out of Jutland, and followed Wrangel into Pomerania. He took Warnemunde and Tripſee, defeated in perſon a detachment of 300 horſe in the neighbourhood of Stralſund, and finiſhed the campaign with the taking of Demin.

While the war was thus carried on in Holſtein and Pomerania, the Swedes had driven the Poles and Brandenburghers, in 1658, from the great and little Werder, and from the town of Marienburg in Pruſſia. But they were expelled from thence in 1659, by the Imperialiſts and the Poles; and Polentz, with the troops of Brandenburg, made an irruption into Courland, where he took ſome towns.

I muſt obſerve here, for a greater illuſtration of theſe military details, that moſt of the towns which were beſieged at that time were incapable of making a defence of 24 hours, after the manner of beſieging in our times, unleſs there was an army at hand to relieve them.

The cuſtom of abdicating was beome epidemical in Europe. Queen Chriſtina had ſet the example, which was followed by John Caſimir, and Michael Coribut was choſen in his place.

Amidſt theſe troubles and confuſions in which the North had been involved, Charles-Guſtavus died in the flower of life, in 1660. The minority of his ſon Charles XI. allayed the warlike fire of the Swedes, giving their paſſion leiſure to cool, and affording them time to embrace more pacific ſentiments.

The belligerant powers now longed for peace, and ſeemed deſirous only of the means of ſecuring it; their animoſity, together with the cauſe of it, was intirely

tirely extinct. The ſeveral princes agreed to open the conferences in the abbay of Oliva, in the neighbourhood of Dantizg. As ambition was baniſhed from theſe negotiations, they ſoon came to a happy concluſion. The treaty of Braunſberg was guarantied in favour of the elector, and the ſovereignty of Pruſſia was acknowledged. The other powers agreed among themſelves to re-eſtabliſh the order of their ſeveral poſſeſſions, juſt as they had been before the war.

Pruſſia, nevertheleſs, ſubmitted with difficulty to the treaty of Braunſberg; the ſtates of this duchy pretending that Poland had no right to diſpoſe of them. Upon this occaſion, a gentleman named Rhode, and who was one of the moſt turbulent of the malcontents, was put under arreſt. Theſe firſt motions of revolt were eaſily ſuppreſſed by the elector, who was accuſtomed to ſurmount the greateſt difficulties; and ſoon after he received in perſon the homage of the Pruſſians at Konigſberg.

Frederick-William, who was the defender of his ſubjects in time of war, had a noble ambition of ſhewing himſelf their father in time of peace. He relieved thoſe families which had been ruined by the enemy, and built new walls for towns whoſe old ones had been demoliſhed. Foreſts, and ſavage beaſts, their wonted inhabitants, diſappeared to make room for colonies of huſbandmen, and for the numerous herds, which now grazed in places that had been laid waſte by the fury of the ſword. Induſtry and rural œconomy, things ſo uſeful, and yet ſo deſpiſed, were encouraged. New villages were daily ſeen to riſe, new canals were cut out for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and even a bed was opened for an artificial

cial river, which, joining the Spree to the Oder, facilitated the commerce of the different provinces, by enabling them to communicate their ſeveral commodities. Theſe wiſe arrangements were owing as well to Frederick-William's continued application to ſtate-affairs, as to the goodneſs and humanity of his character. This prince was perhaps ſtill greater in this reſpect, than by his heroic valour and political abilities, which enabled him to take a proper manner and time for the execution of all his projects.

In 1665, the Turks attacked the emperor in Hungary, and he ſent him a reinforcement of 2000 men, under the command of the duke of Holſtein.

The Poles had a war of the ſame nature to maintain againſt the Infidels, upon which occaſion he aſſiſted Michael Coribut with a body of men.

He received the eventual homage of the city of Magdeburg, and gariſoned it with his own troops. He acquired the lordſhip of Regenſtein, which was a fief of the duchy of Halberſtadt, and maintained his rights, in oppoſition to the duke of Brunſwick's pretenſions. He reconciled, in 1665, the duke of Lunenburg's ſons, who were tearing one another to pieces for their paternal inheritance; he terminated by a treaty the differences which ſtill ſubſiſted between him and the dukes of Neuburg, relating to the ſucceſſion of Cleves; he entered into a defenſive alliance with Sweden, and concluded a quadruple alliance at the Hague with the king of Denmark, the republic of Holland, and the duke of Brunſwick, to which the emperor acceded.

The intent of theſe alliances was to ſecure the tranquillity of Germany. And yet the great precaution taken to render them ſo numerous ſeemed to diminiſh their value.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all theſe endeavours, Lewis XIV. diſturbed the peace of Europe in 1667, by invading the Spaniſh Netherlands. The reaſon given by him for this war was his demand of Maria Tereſa's fortune, which had not been paid. Though this pretext did not ſeem to bear the ſame weight at Madrid as at Verſailles, yet Lewis XIV. thought he proceeded according to rule in invading the Spaniſh Netherlands, whoſe towns at that time were but poorly gariſoned.

France being attentive to prevent any alliances that might be formed for the ſupport of the Spaniſh intereſt, thought proper, in this conjuncture, to court the elector's friendſhip; and this prince engaged not to concern himſelf in the war, which in fact was quite foreign to him.

As early as the year 1670, the deſigns which Lewis XIV. had formed againſt the United Provinces were not ſo ſecret but ſome politicians ſaw into them. Thoſe who are leaſt intereſted in affairs are oftentimes the moſt clear-ſighted. Frederick-William gueſſed at the French king's intentions, and endeavoured to divert the ſtorm which threatned the Dutch. Lewis XIV. inſtead of coming into the elector's pacific views, tried to make him a party in the war. For this purpoſe he ſent the prince of Furſtemberg to Berlin, who was aſtoniſhed to behold a ſovereign that preferred the ſentiments of friendſhip and gratitude to the bait of intereſt, and the ſeducing charms of ambition.

Frederick-William concluded a treaty at Billefeldt with the elector of Cologne, the biſhop of Munſter, and the duke of Neuburg, for the defence of the United Provinces. Scarce had this engagement been entered

entered upon, when the duke of Neuburg and the elector of Cologne deſerted to the oppoſite party.

Such was the ſituation of Holland, attacked by France, and haraſſed by the elector of Cologne and the biſhop of Munſter, that ſhe was almoſt deſtitute of hopes of aſſiſtance from the generoſity of her allies. The unfortunate have an opportunity of making an infallible experiment of the human heart; for the decline of fortune is generally attended with that of friendſhip. What expectation then could Holland have to find a prince of ſo magnanimous a ſoul as to attempt to ſtop Lewis XIV. in the triumphant courſe of his proſperity, and to expoſe himſelf, at the ſame time, to the calamities which the republic had reaſon to apprehend both for herſelf and her deliverers. And yet ſuch a deliverer was found in Frederick-William, who entered into an alliance with this republic at the very time that Europe expected to ſee her overwhelmed by thoſe waters over which ſhe had ſo abſolutely reigned.

The elector engaged to furniſh her with 20,000 men, half of whom were to be maintained at the expence of the republic, and both parties agreed not to make a ſeparate peace. The emperor Leopold followed the elector's example, by acceding to this alliance.

The invaſion of Lewis XIV. had changed the face of government in Holland. The people, grown deſperate by the public calamities, laid the blame on the penſioner, and revenged themſelves of the miſeries that threatned Holland on the brothers de Witt. William prince of Orange was unanimouſly elected Stadtholder. This prince, who was only nineteen years of age, became the moſt implacable enemy that the ambition of Lewis XIV. had to contend with.

Scarce

Scarce had the elector aſſembled his army, when he marched towards Halberſtadt, where he expected to be joined by Montecuculli with ten thouſand Imperialiſts. He continued his march toward Weſtphalia; but Turenne quitted Holland, took ſome towns in the country of Cleves, and came to meet him at the head of 30,000 French. In the mean time Groningen was evacuated by the biſhop of Munſter, and the ſiege of Maeſtricht was raiſed by the French; which were the firſt fruits of his diverſion.

Montecuculli had received private orders from the emperor not to act offenſively. The elector's intention was to fight Turenne, and to march directly to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. But as Montecuculli would not conſent to this, and the Brandenburghers were not ſtrong enough to attack Turenne, Frederick-William was obliged to conform to the emperor's intention; and he directed his march towards Frankfort on the Main, acquainting the prince of Orange, at the ſame time, with the motives of his conduct. This march nevertheleſs obliged Turenne to repaſs the Rhine at Andernach, and rid Holland of 20,000 of her enemies.

The elector wanted to follow Turenne, and had made all the neceſſary preparations for paſſing the Rhine at Nirſtein; but Montecuculli ſtill oppoſed it, declaring that the Imperialiſts ſhould not paſs that river. Thus the campaign was fruitleſsly ſpent, and the elector took up his winter-quarters in Weſtphalia.

Turenne made a proper uſe of this inaction; he paſſed the Rhine at Weſel, and made himſelf maſter of the duchy of Cleves, and of the county of Marck, from whence he advanced into Weſtphalia. At the ſame

ſame time the biſhop of Munſter ventured to beſiege Billefeldt, but was diſappointed in the attempt.

The prince of Anhalt adviſed the elector to attack Turenne; but the ſame reaſons for avoiding an engagement ſtill ſubſiſted. As the emperor had not declared war againſt France, he did not care that his troops ſhould act offenſively, and the Brandenburghers were not ſtrong enough of themſelves to venture an engagment with ſuch an enemy.

The Dutch were ſtill behind-hand in the ſubſidies which they had engaged to pay to the elector; beſides, as neither Spain nor the emperor had declared againſt France, all the territories of Weſtphalia were in danger of being loſt. Under theſe conjunctures Frederick-William was diſpoſed to come to an agreement with Lewis XIV. A peace was accordingly concluded at Voſſen, and the French king ratified it in his camp before Maeſtricht. The elector was reinſtated in his poſſeſſions, excepting the cities of Retz and Weſel, which the French kept till the concluſion of a peace with Holland. He engaged likewiſe not to aſſiſt the Dutch any more; but reſerved to himſelf the liberty of defending the empire, in caſe it was attacked. The other articles of this treaty relate to the indemnity for the ravages committed by the French troops, which Lewis XIV. promiſed to pay to the elector.

Notwithſtanding the endeavours that were uſed, the French could never be prevailed upon to comprize Holland in this treaty. Frederick-William had ſacrificed himſelf for this republic; and if his generous example had been followed, at leaſt in part, by the other princes, his expedition would have been de-

ciſive, and he could not have been obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior power of Lewis XIV.

Even the very enemies of Frederick-William felt the effects of his magnanimity.

A Frenchman, by name Villeneuve, who was in Turenne's camp, made offers to the elector of murdering the French general. Frederick-William ſhuddered at ſo horrid a propoſal, and gave notice to Turenne to beware of the traitor, who was in his own army; adding, that he embraced this opportunity with pleaſure of teſtifying, that the eſteem he had for his merit was no way altered by the miſchief which the French had done to his territories in Weſtphalia.

The ambition of Lewis XIV. was increaſed by his poſterity. He had over-run Holland in 1673 and 1674, and obliged her allies to abandon her, while the terror of his arms kept the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria in a ſtate of inaction. At the ſame time his troops committed moſt horrid exceſſes in the Palatinate, by levying contributions with the utmoſt rigour, and oppreſſing the people. The elector Palatine complained to the diet; and the emperor, who had been a quiet ſpectator of the conqueſt of Holland, waked out of his lethargy, as ſoon as the ſecurity of the empire itſelf was in danger. He declared war againſt France, the only war perhaps that the houſe of Auſtria ever undertook for the ſecurity and defence of Germany.

Leopold joined with Spain and Holland; and Frederick-William engaged to lead an army of 16000 men to the aſſiſtance of the empire, which he was permitted to do by the treaty of Voſſen. Spain and Holland promiſed to pay for the maintenance of his troops.

The beginning of this campaign proved unſucceſsful to the allies. The Dutch were defeated at Senef by prince Conde, the duke of Lorrain was beaten at Sintzheim, and M. de Bournonville at Holtzheim in Alſace, both by marſhal Turenne.

The elector paſſed the Rhine at Straſburg, and joined the Imperialiſts a few days after their defeat. Here he found the different generals of the army greatly divided, and more bent upon hurting one another than the enemy.

By the junction of the Brandenburghers this army was 50,000 ſtrong. The elector, who was deſirous of glory, and wanted to fight, could never perſuade Bournonville to hazard an engagement; ſo that the campaign was ſpent in obſerving Turenne. The army marched to Kokerſburg, and the Brandenburghers made themſelves maſters of the ſmall caſtle of Woſelſheim; while Turenne, who aimed at ſomething more important, repaſſed the Sarre, and retired into Lorrain.

The elector extended his quarters from Calmar to Malſmunſter, and the Imperialiſts blocked up Briſac.

Turenne had conſiderably the advantage over an army torn by diviſion and jealouſy, eſpecially after having received a reinforcement of 10,000 men from the army in Flanders. He had retreated like Fabius, but now he advanced like Hannibal.

The elector foreſaw what happened. He adviſed Bournonville to collect his ſcattered forces; but this general, thinking himſelf ſecure, rejected his advice. In the mean time Turenne paſſed by Tan and Bedfort, broke into the Imperial quarters, where he

ſurpriſed a detached party, defeated Bournonville in the Sundgow near Mulhauſen, and purſued this general, who made all poſſible expedition to join the elector in the neighbourhood of Colmar. Turenne came round this camp with his ſecond line; upon which the elector finding himſelf ſtraitned for ground, flanked by Turenne, and contradicted by Bournonville, decamped in the night, and repaſſed the Rhine at Straſburg.

The Imperialiſts raiſed the ſiege of Briſac, and the French became once more maſters of Alſace.

Frederick-William put the troops of Brandenburg into winter quarters in Franconia.

This ill ſucceſs ought not to ſurpriſe thoſe who are acquainted with the principles and conduct of the Imperial court.

The council of Vienna was widely different from that of Verſailles, and Bournonville was no way a match for Turenne.

At Vienna, the miniſters, who were mere politicians, and unpractiſed in the art of war, ſettled the operations of the campaign in their cloſets, and the generals were only intruſted with the execution of them: they were led, as it were, by leading-ſtrings, in an employment that requires the greateſt freedom and activity.

At Verſailles, the generals were made acquainted with the intentions of the court, and the Conde's and Turenne's were thought men of ſufficient capacity to be depended upon for the manner of putting them in execution.

The abbe Fouquet, cardinal Mazarine's favourite, took one day the liberty to point out with his finger on a map, the place where marſhal Turenne ſhould paſs

paſs that river. Turenne replied coolly, *Sir, your finger is not a bridge.*

The French generals were like ſovereigns in their armies. As their abilities were known, they were laid under no conſtraint, but in every thing were left to follow the free impulſe of their genius; thus they made a right uſe of thoſe moments, which the enemies loſt in the diſpatching of couriers, to aſk leave to execute ſuch things, as were no longer practicable at their return. Hence it was that Frederick-William never made ſo great a figure at the head of the Imperialiſts, as when he commanded only his own troops.

The emperor, who had given him little more than a nominal command, placed his whole confidence in his own generals. Thus Montecuculli defeated every ſcheme formed by the elector in the campaign of 1672; becauſe, as the Imperialiſts had not declared war againſt France, they avoided acting offenſively, and were ſatisfied with the ceremony of making their appearance in the armies.

Bournonville, who had been beaten at Holtzheim in the above-mentioned campaign, received orders not to hazard another engagement. Very likely he oppoſed the elector's ſchemes thro' perſonal jealouſy, and to prevent its being ſaid, that this prince's ſuperior ſkill in the military art had retrieved the loſſes which had been ſuſtained thro' the other's incapacity.

The French, not ſatisfied with recovering Alſace, wanted to weaken the Imperial army, which might have been able to deprive them, in the ſpring, of the advantages they had obtained during the winter. For this purpoſe they created new enemies to the e-

lector, who, by the diverſion they made, obliged him to return to his own dominions.

Notwithſtanding the defenſive alliance, which the elector had concluded with the crown of Sweden, and the duke of Neuburg, in 1673, Wrangel marched into the Marck in 1675, at the head of a Swediſh army.

The prince of Anhalt, who at that time was governor of the Marck, complained bitterly of this Swediſh irruption. Wrangel anſwered, that the Swedes ſhould withdraw, as ſoon as the elector concluded a peace with France.

This prince acquainted the elector with the devaſtation of his territories, and the enormous exceſſes committed by the Swedes. But as he had not a ſufficient nnmber of troops at Berlin to preſent himſelf before an army, the elector thought proper that he ſhould not engage the Swedes, but wait his arrival.

While the elector's troops refreſhed themſelves after their fatigues, in their winter quarters in Franconia, the peaſants of Brandenburg, impatient of a foreign yoke, and driven to deſpair by the extortions of the Swedes, aſſembled in bodies, and gained ſome advantages over their oppreſſors. They formed themſelves into ſeveral companies, and the elector's name was in their colours, with this inſcription,

For our prince and country we ſacrifice our lives.

In the mean time while Wangelin fell ill, which increaſed the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, they did not even ſpare churches, but carried their rapacious cruelty to the higheſt degree of violence.

While

While the Marck ſighed after a deliverer, Frederick-William was making preparations to confound the inſolence of his enemies. He ſet out from Franconia, and arrived the 11th of June at Magdeburg. Immediately he ordered the gates of the town to be ſhut, and uſed every precaution to conceal the news of his approach from the enemy. Towards the evening his army paſſed the Elbe, and directing their march through by-ways, reached the night following the gates of Rathenaw. The elector gave notice to the baron de Briſt, who was there at that time, of the arrival of his troops, and concerted with him proper meaſures to ſurpriſe the Swedes.

The regiment of Wangelin was in gariſon in the town. Briſt invited the officers of this regiment to ſup with him. During the entertainment, they were overpowered with liquor; and while they ſlept themſelves ſober, the elector ordered ſeveral detachments of his troops to paſs the Havel in boats, and to attack the town on all ſides.

General Dorfling, pretending to be a Swediſh party, purſued by the troops of Brandenburg, was the firſt who entered Rathenaw, and cut the guards in pieces. At the ſame time the gates were forced open, and the cavalry cleared the ſtreets; the Swediſh officers could ſcarce believe, when they awaked, that they were the priſoners of a prince, whom they imagined to be in Franconia at the head of his troops. The adventure was ſo extraordinary, as to appear like a dream.

The elector, who well knew the vaſt conſequence of embracing the critical moment, would not wait for the arrival of his infantry. In this delicate conjuncture he marched to Nauen, in order to cut off

two principal bodies of the Swediſh troops, one of which was in the neighbourhood of Brandenburg, and the other near Havelberg. That of Brandenburg had paſſed the Nauen, an hour before the elector's arrival. He purſued them cloſely; but not being able to come up with them, he was informed by priſoners and deſerters, that they were marching to Fehrbellin, where they had fixed the rendezvous with thoſe of Havelberg.

The elector's army conſiſted of 5600 horſe; he had no infantry, and yet he carried with him twelve pieces of cannon. He did not heſitate a moment to attack the enemy, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, and the difference between the troops that compoſed the two armies. He had only a body of horſe, and the Swedes had ten regiments of foot, with ſome dragoons.

Frederick-William gave the van-guard, on the 18th of June, to the prince of Homburg, with 1600 horſe, ordering him to reconnoitre the enemy, without coming to an engagement. This prince ſet out for the expedition, and after paſſing through a wood, he found the Swediſh troops incamped between the villages of Hackenburg and Tornow, with a moraſs in their rear, the bridge of Fehrbellin beyond their right, and a ſmooth plain in their front. He drove the advanced guards before him, and came up with them flying to the main body of their army, who marched out of their camp immediately to draw up in order of battle. This prince was carried away by the warmth of his conſtitution, and let himſelf be drawn into an engagement which might have been attended with a fatal conſequence, if the elector, appriſed of the danger, had not immediately flown to his aſſiſtance.

The

The elector, who was a prince of quick and juſt penetration, and of ſurpriſing activity, made uſe of a bank of ſand to erect a battery, which did great execution. As the Swediſh army was thrown into ſome confuſion, he fell inſtantly with all his cavalry upon the enemy's right wing, and defeated them intirely; the body guards, and the regiment of Oſtrogothia, were cut in pieces, by the cavalry of Brandenburg. The defeat of the right brought on that of the left; numbers of the Swedes threw themſelves into the moraſſes, where they periſhed; the remainder flew with precipitation to Fehrbellin, where they broke down the bridge.

The elector being unprovided with infantry, could not force the bridge to purſue them; he was therefore ſatisfied with pitching his camp on the field of battle, where he had gained ſo much glory. He forgave the prince of Homburg for having expoſed, by his temerity, the fortune of a whole nation, telling him, "Were I to judge you according to the rigour of the military laws, you deſerve to loſe your life; but heaven forbid I ſhould ſtain my laurels with the blood of a prince, who has been one of the principal inſtruments of my victory."

The Swedes loſt eight colours, two ſtandards, eight cannons, 3000 men, and a great number of officers, in this memorable and deciſive action.

Dorfling purſued them the day following, took a conſiderable number of them priſoners, together with their baggage, and the greateſt part of their plunder. The Swediſh army, which was now reduced to 4000 men, made their eſcape by the way of Ruppin and Whitſtock into the country of Mecklenburg. I think that Cæſar's *veni, vidi, vici,* may be juſtly

juſtly applied to the elector, upon this glorious expedition.

It was owing to the ſucceſs of the arms of Brandenburg, that the Swedes were declared enemies of the empire, for attacking one of its members. Had fortune favoured the Swedes, perhaps they would have found allies.

The elector, whoſe army was now increaſed with Imperial and Daniſh reinforcements, reſolved to attack the Swedes in his turn in their own country; he marched therefore into Pomerania, where he made himſelf maſter of the three principal paſſages o he Peene.

The Brandenburghers, who looked upon themſelves as invincible under the command of their prince, took the town of Wolgaſt and the iſle of Wolin. Wiſmar did not ſurrender to the Danes till after the prince of Homburg had joined them with a reinforcement of electoral troops.

The elector, and the king of Denmark, whoſe intereſts were equally connected in their war againſt the Swedes, entered into a cloſer engagement in the 1676, to act with greateſt vigor.

In the mean while the gariſon of Stralſund attempted during the winter to diſlodge the Brandenburghers from the iſle of Wolin. Mardefelt landed a body of troops, and laid ſiege to the capital, which was defended by an electoral gariſon. The vigilance of Marſhal Dorfling made them pay dear for the temerity of their enterpriſe; he drew ſome of his detachments together, paſſed over into the iſle of Wolin, beat Mardefeldt, and would have entirely defeated him, if the Swedes had not got on board in a hurry, and made their eſcape to Stralſund.

At

At the beginning of this campaign, the Baltic was covered with two powerful ſquadrons which locked the Swedes up in their harbours, and hindered them from ſending ſuccours to Pomerania. The Dutch were commanded by Tromp, the greateſt admiral of his age; and the Daniſh fleet was under the command of Juhl, an admiral likewiſe of eſtabliſhed reputation. Even the privateers of Brandenburg took ſeveral prizes of the Swedes.

This nation, foreſeeing the difficulty of withſtanding ſuch a number of enemies, attempted to make propoſals to the elector, in order to draw him off from his allies, or perhaps to ſet him at variance with them. Wangelin, who was made priſoner at Rathenaw, ſounded the elector's mind, and made overtures tending to an accommodation; but this prince refuſed to enter into any kind of negotiation.

Frederick-William put himſelf at the head of his troops, and took Anclam, in ſpite of general Konigſmarck, who attempted to relieve the town. He turned afterwards his victorious arms towards Stettin, which he only blockaded, becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced to beſiege it in form.

The enſuing campaign in 1677 was opened with a ſea-fight, in which the Danes defeated the Swediſh fleet.

Charles XI. who had hitherto been in a ſtate of pupillage, began to appear like a king. His firſt eſſay was the gaining of the famous battle of Lundin in Scania, where Chriſtian V. loſt 6000 men.

Fortune, which favoured the Swedes againſt the Danes, ſeemed to deſert them when they had to deal with the elector; for the campaign of Pomerania turned out to their diſadvantage.

The

The elector opened the trenches the 6th of June before Stettin. The Brandenburghers attacked the town toward the left bank of the Oder; their allies, the Lunenburghers, carried on their approaches on the right bank, and the siege lasted six months.

The fortifications of Stettin consisted of earthen bastions, surrounded with a ditch, and defended by a wretched counterscarp. The outworks consisted only of two earthen redoubts. In our days this paltry town could not have stood a siege of above eight days. At that time the elector's troops, accustomed only to field battles, were quite unpractised in sieges, and destitute of engineers.

Stettin did not capitulate till the 14th of December. The garison was reduced to 300 men, and the relations of those days inform us, that this siege cost the besiegers 10,000 men. The Lunenburghers returned to their own country. The great advantages which the elector gained over his enemies did not make so favourable an impression upon the Imperial court as might have been expected. The emperor wanted to have weak vassals and poor subjects in Germany, but no great lords or powerful princes. As his politics aimed at arbitrary power, he was sensible of the importance of keeping the princes of the empire in a state of mediocrity and impotence, in order to exert the tyranny which the house of Austria intended to establish in Germany. The emperor's council, and among the rest, one Hocherus, had the insolence to say, that the court of Vienna was uneasy to see a new king of the Vandals enlarging his territories on the borders of the Baltic. This prophecy was afterward verified.

While

While the elector's campaigns were attended with a continual series of triumphs, which were the fruits of his prudence, the Dutch concluded a separate peace with France.

Frederick-William reproached these republicans with their ingratitude. France proposed to this prince, that he should restore his conquests to the Swedes, and indemnify them for the expences of the war. Could Lewis XIV. have prescribed much harder conditions to a conquered prince? The elector indeed rejected them; and as he had higher views, he wanted to preserve by treaties what he had conquered by arms. But he was even happier in his negotiations than in his victories.

The war was therefore continued in Pomerania.

In the beginning of the ensuing campaign in 1678, the Swedes surprised in the isle of Rugen two detachments of Danes and Brandenburghers, each of 600 men. The king of Denmark moreover lost Christianstadt, and the isle of Blechingen.

The elector's fortune, or rather his prudence, not being subject to caprice, was much more constant. He received a reinforcement of 4000 Lunenburghers; and with the assistance of some Danish vessels, he made a descent upon the isle of Rugen, drove the Swedes from thence, and made himself master of Fehrschantz. He took afterwards possession of the isle of Bohrnholm, sat down before Stralsund, and bombarded this town so briskly that it surrendered in two days. At length he finished this glorious campaign with the taking of Grypswalde.

Fortune seemed to take a pleasure in furnishing this prince with every occasion to display his great abilities. Scarce had this campaign been ended,

when

when he had tidings brought him that the enemy had attacked him on another ſide, and that general Horn was marched from Livonia at the head of 6000 men to enter Pruſſia.

The elector received this news without being in the leaſt ſurpriſed, and applied a ſpeedy remedy. As his genius was fruitful in expedients, it furniſhed him at the ſame time with proper meaſures for putting them in execution; and indeed he projected and executed, as it were, at the ſame time. He ſent general Gortz before him with 3000 men, who making a forced march, paſſed the Viſtula, and arrived ſafely at Konigſberg, where he was joined by Hohendorff, and remained there till the elector's arrival.

During this diverſion the elector's affairs grew ſtill worſe, by the deſertion of the emperor and Spain, who, after the example of the Dutch, concluded a peace with France at Nimeguen, without taking any notice of the elector's intereſts. Thus this prince and the king of Denmark were left alone to carry on the war.

Frederick-William, in order to ſtrengthen his party, concluded a defenſive alliance with thoſe very Dutch who had ſo baſely deſerted him. He reſigned fort Schenck to them, and forgave them the arrears of the ſubſidies due to him, for all which he received only empty guaranties in return, which thoſe ungrateful republicans refuſed even to fulfil.

In the mean while the Swedes made a conſiderable progreſs in Pruſſia. They burnt the ſuburb of Memel upon their march, and made themſelves maſters of Tilſit and Inſterburg; their troops ſpread themſelves around, and their different parties over-run the whole country.

But

But the elector ſoon retrieved theſe loſſes by his prodigious diligence. He ſet out from Berlin in 1679, and put himſelf at the head of 9000 men, whom he had ſent before him under the command of Dorfling. He paſſed the Viſtula the 14th of January, preceded by the terror of his name, which was now become formidable to the Swedes. Horn, confounded at his approach, loſt all hopes of withſtanding the hero of Fehrbellin; and as his troops were alſo diſheartened, he thought proper to retire. Gortz, taking an advantage of this confuſion, purſued, haraſſed and retarded him in his march; on which occaſion the Swedes loſt 8000 men. A great number of peaſants having joined the body of troops commanded by Gortz, took all the ſtragglers of the enemy's army priſoners.

The elector, who did not loſe a moment of time, appeared on the banks of the Fricſhhaff. Having put all his army in ſledges, prepared on purpoſe, he proceeded the ſame day with his troops ſeven German miles from thence, and continued his march in this new and extraordinary manner. It was a ſurpriſing ſpectacle to ſee an army march over a frozen gulph, which two months before was covered with ſhips.

The elector's march with his army had the air of a moſt ſolemn and magnificent proceſſion. The electreſs and the whole court were with him in ſledges, and this prince was received where-ever he came as the deliverer of Pruſſia.

He diſpatched Trefenfeldt from Labiaw with 5000 horſe, to ſtop the Swedes till he could come up with them. The ſame day he made a very long march on the gulph of Courland, and arrived, the 19th of January, with his little army within three miles of

Tilſit

Tilſit, where the Swedes had taken up their quarters. He received tidings the ſame day that Trefenfeldt had defeated two of the enemy's regiments, in the neighbourhood of Splitter, and that he had taken from them twenty eight * colours and ſtandards, two pair of kettle drums, and ſeven hundred waggons full of baggage; upon which he ordered him to improve theſe advantages.

The Swedes, beaten by Trefenfeldt, haraſſed by Gortz, and intimidated by the neighbourhood of the elector, abandoned Tilſit, and retreated towards Courland. Gortz came up with their rear, conſiſting of 1400 men, between Schultzen, Crug and Cuadjuc, and defeated them intirely. Both he and Trefenfeldt returned different ways, loaded with trophies, and conducting a great number of priſoners, together with all their plunder.

The retreat of the Swedes was like to a total rout; not above 3000 men of their whole army returned into Livonia, the reſt were all deſtroyed.

Thus ended this expedition, the only one in its kind, and in which the elector ſhewed the full extent of his genius; an expedition in which neither the rigour of the ſeaſon in that extreme cold climate, nor the length of the march for an army to the frontiers of Livonia, nor nothing, in fine, could ſtop him.

This campaign, which was planned with ſo much prudence and judgment, and executed with ſo much reſolution and ſucceſs, gained the elector nothing more than empty fame. This is the reward of heroes,

* Either the number of the Swedes muſt have been vaſtly reduced, or there muſt have been ſome miſtake in the number of colours. I ſhould have ſcrupled to relate this fact, had I not found it aſcertained by the different relations preſerved in the archives.

roes, but princes are not always ſatisfied with ſuch payment.

His enemies had brought him from the Rhine into the Marck, and from Pomerania into Pruſſia. Scarce had he driven away the Swedes, when the cries of his ſubjects gave him to underſtand that the French had entered the duchy of Cleves with 30,000 men.

Lewis XIV. inſiſted upon the entire reinſtatement of the Swedes; and was inflexible upon this article. Every propoſition that the elector's miniſters made to Colbert was rejected.

It was an unequal match; for the elector of Brandenburg and the king of Denmark could not pretend to cope with Lewis XIV. and Charles XI. Valour ſubmitted to numbers; and notwithſtanding the repugnance which the elector had to give up his conqueſts, he made a truce of fifteen days with the French, that they might agree upon the articles of peace; and he put them in poſſeſſion of the towns of Weſel and Lipſtat, till it was entirely concluded.

Upon the expiration of this term, Crequi entered the principality of Minden with 10,000 men. Here he was joined by the Lunenburghers, and theſe troops ſhut up between them and the Weſer a body of Brandenburghers commanded by general Spaan

Frederick-William, who received nothing but excuſes and refuſals from the Dutch, with regard to their not executing the guarantee, reſolved to come to an accomodation. He ſent the baron de Meynder to St Germains, where they agreed upon the following conditions, *viz.* that the treaty of Weſtphalia ſhould be the baſis of this peace; that the elector ſhould have the property of the cuſtoms in Further Pomerania; and that the towns of Camin, Gartz,

Grieffenberg and Wildenbruch, ſhould be yielded to him. In return, he agreed to reſtore to the Swedes all he had conquered from them, and not to aſſiſt the king of Denmark. Upon which France withdrew her troops from his territories, and paid him 30,000 ducates, as an indemnity for the miſchief which Crequi had done to his ſubjects.

The peace being thus concluded, was ratified and put in execution, without any difficulty intervening on either ſide, to prevent an intire evacuation.

The king of Denmark, who was now the only champion left in the liſts, ſoon followed the elector's example, and concluded a peace at Fontainbleau with France and Sweden. With this difference, that the elector at leaſt gained ſomething by it, whereas the king of Denmark, by holding out too long, got nothing at all.

The peace of St Germains put an end to Frederick-William's military exploits. His laſt years were more pacific, and leſs glorious. And yet he ſtill ſhewed himſelf the great and benevolent man, even in the moſt private paſſages of his life.

The wiſdom, conſtancy, penetration, and every other virtue of this prince, were regulated according to his different circumſtances; appearing one while more ſublime, and another time more tender and obliging; but always directed by the principles of juſtice, and tending only to the glory of his reign, and the welfare of his ſubjects.

It is owing to a general prejudice, that the greateſt part of mankind idolize the ſucceſsful temerity of the ambitious. The glory of military exploits renders them blind, even to civil virtues; in their way

way of thinking, the Eroſtrati are preferable to the modern Amphions.

Frederick-William was equally admirable at the head of his armies, where he appeared as the deliverer of his ſubjects; and at the head of his council, where he adminiſtred juſtice to his people, and to his neighbours; and raiſed his country from a ſtate of annihilation, into which it had been plunged by the war.

The elector's virtues were of too extenſive a nature, not to be known; his excellent endowments gained him the confidence of his neighbours. His impartial juſtice rendered him a kind of ſupreme arbiter, whoſe juriſdiction extended beyond his own frontiers, by which he judged and reconciled kings and ſovereign princes. He was choſen for a mediator between the king of Denmark, and the city of Hamburg. Chriſtian V. received twenty-five thouſand crowns of this town, which ſerved as a ſponge to the Danes in their preſent neceſſity. This city was hard preſſed at that time, and would have been entirely ruined, had it not been for the aſſiſtance and protection of Frederick-William.

The Eaſt paid homage to the reputation of this prince, which had reached as far as Aſia. And Murad Geray, Cham of the Tartars, courted his friendſhip.

The barbarian ambaſſador appeared in tattered clothes, which ſcarce covered his nakedneſs. They were obliged to give him other apparel, before he could be admitted to court. The Boudziake's interpreter had a wooden noſe, and no ears. This was carrying ſimplicity, and the contempt of pomp,

to the higheſt exceſs; however, Europe was far from growing jealous at this hungry embaſſy.

While the elector was courted by the Tartars, he cauſed himſelf to be reſpected by the Spaniards. This court owed him ſome arrears of ſubſidies, which they declined paying him. He ſent therefore to the coaſt of Guinea nine ſmall veſſels, which he had made uſe of in the Baltic; and this little would-be ſquadron took a large Spaniſh man of war, and carried it into Konigsberg.

This prince made two conſiderable acquiſitions in 1680. Upon the deceaſe of the adminiſtrator of Magdeburg, this duchy was incorporated for ever with the electorate of Magdeburg. As director of the circle of Weſtphalia, he had the Imperial commiſſion to protect the ſtates of Eaſt Frieſland againſt their prince, who had invaded their privileges; and having the eventual ſucceſſion of that principality, he availed himſelf of the occaſion to put a Brandenburg gariſon into Gritzil, and to eſtabliſh a company of merchants at Embden, who traded to Guinea, and built Great Frederickſburg.

But theſe ſmall advantages were nothing in compariſon to thoſe of Lewis XIV. This prince made as many conqueſts in time of peace as of war. He purſued a new method, in eſtabliſhing the chambers of re-union, which by examining the ancient charters and old precepts, adjudged ſeveral towns and lordſhips to him, which he had taken poſſeſſion of, as being originally fiefs or dependences on the prefecture of Straſburg and Alſace. The empire being exhauſted with a long war, was ſatisfied with complaining to Lewis XIV. in writing. But as the elector had not been included in the treaty of Nimeguen, he refuſed to ſign

ſign this letter, and he concluded, in 1681, a treaty of alliance with the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Hanover, for the maintenance of the peace of Weſtphalia and St Germains.

Lewis XIV. being unwilling to be diſturbed by the emperor, or by the empire, in his pacific conqueſts, ſet his engines to work in the Eaſt in 1682, which ſoon flung Leopold into the utmoſt confuſion.

There were ſtill two years to come of the truce, which the Infidels had concluded with the Chriſtians after the battle of S. Godart. And yet the Turks ſent ſuccours to the Hungarians, who had revolted againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and they marched with a formidable army up to the gates of Vienna.

Leopold, who, like the reſt of his family, was no ſoldier, fled to Lintz in 1683, with all his haughtineſs: he would neither make conceſſions to the French, who had taken Luxemburg from him; nor to the Turks, who beſieged his capital. And yet the empire was incapable to withſtand ſo many enemies. At length, the preſſing ſollicitations of the pope, of Frederick-William, the elector of Bavaria, and of the chief princes in Germany, prevailed upon him to agree to a truce, which was concluded with France the 15th of Auguſt 1684.

The ſame year the elector concluded an alliance with the circles of Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia, for their common defence. In this treaty it was expreſsly agreed, that the princes who aſſembled the confederate troops ſhould draw contributions from the neighbouring ſtates. The manners of that time are too much characteriſed by ſuch paſſages as theſe, to be omitted in our hiſtory.

Frederick-William had pretenſions to the duch-

ies of Jagerndorff, Ratibor, Oppelen, Brieg, Wolau, and Lignitz. Theſe duchies belonged to him in ſtrict juſtice by the treaties of confraternity, which had been concluded with the princes who formerly poſſeſſed them, and ratified by the kings of Bohemia. He looked upon this as a favourable conjuncture to deſire the emperor to ſatisfy his juſt pretenſions, and to grant him at the ſame time the inveſtiture of Magdeburg. Leopold, who knew no rights but his own, no pretenſions but thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, and no juſtice but his own haughtineſs, granted what he could not refuſe; namely, the inveſtiture of the duchy of Magdeburg. And yet he wanted a contingent of Brandenburg troops, but they were refuſed him. The elector however ſent ſuccours to John Sobieſki, who was alſo attacked by the Turks in 1685; theſe ſuccours conſiſted of 2000 men.

Every circumſtance of that time ſeemed to contribute to aggrandize the elector. France was diſturbed by the revocation of the famous edict of Nantes; and ſuch a migration enſued, as can hardly be parallelled in hiſtory A whole nation, as it were, departed the kingdom, thro' the ſpirit of party, and out of hatred to the pope, in order to receive the communion in both kinds in another climate, and to chant Clement Marot's old pſalms in other temples. For ſuch powerful motives as theſe, two hundred thouſand inhabitants went into voluntary baniſhment, and abandoned their poſſeſſions, carrying with them their induſtry, and manufactures, to thoſe places of refuge which they exchanged for their own country. Twenty thouſand French came and ſettled in the territories of the elector, who by their numbers repaired in ſome meaſure the depopulation which had been cauſed

ed by the wars. Frederick-William received them with that pity, which miſery excites; and with the generoſity of a ſovereign, who rewards thoſe artiſts, whoſe induſtry is ſo uſeful to his people. This induſtrious colony multiplied, and made ample returns to their benefactor for his hoſpitality and protection. The Marck of Brandenburg became ſoon capable of drawing from her own ſtock thoſe commodities, which ſhe had been obliged to import from foreign countries.

Lewis XIV. was offended at the reception which the elector gave to the refugees. Frederick-William, being apprehenſive that his piety would imbroil him with France, entered into a more intimate connection with the emperor, and ſent him, in the year 1686, eight thouſand auxiliary troops againſt the Turks, under the command of Schoning. Theſe troops had a great ſhare in the taking of Buda, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly at the general aſſault of that town, where they were the firſt that entered. Notwithſtanding theſe ſervices, they were denied winter quarters in Sileſia, and were obliged to come back and winter in the Marck. The emperor, however, granted the circle of Swibus to the elector, as an indemnity.

The reception of the French at Berlin, and the ſuccours granted to the emperor, at length exaſperated France; ſhe broke in ſome meaſure with the elector, by refuſing to continue the payment of the annual ſubſidy, which had been granted him by the peace of St Germains. Lewis XIV. could not avoid breaking the truce concluded with the emperor; by maintaining the pretenſions of Charlotte, princeſs Palatine, wife to the duke of Orleans, to ſome

bailiwicks of the Palatinate, which that princeſs laid claim to; and by repairing the fortifications of Hunningen, tho' this was contrary to the treaty of Nimeguen. So enterpriſing a neighbour alarmed all Germany; the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Lower Rhine, concluded an alliance at Augſburg, to guard againſt the continual enterprizes, which were formed by the ambition of Lewis XIV.

Notwithſtanding ſo many ſubjects of complaint, which the empire had againſt France; yet the emperor confirmed the truce in 1687, which he had concluded with that crown; for the apprehenſion of the Turks rendered him prudent and circumſpect. And yet we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory, how the election made by the chapter of Cologne, in favour of the prince of Furſtenberg, at that time biſhop of Straſburg, and protected by France, obliged the elector at length to break with a neighbour, whoſe ambition kept no meaſures, and who knew no limits to his power.

The elector had no ſhare in this war, but died before it broke out. He granted his protection for the ſecond time to the city of Hamburg, which was beſieged by the king of Denmark in perſon with 17000 men. Paul Fuchs and Schmettau, both envoys from the elector, perſuaded Frederick V. to raiſe the ſiege, and to re-eſtabliſh matters upon the ſame footing as they ſtood before that expedition. At the ſame time, the difference was compromiſed, relating to the four bailiwicks of the duchy of Magdeburg, which were in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Weſſeinfels. The elector purchaſed the bailiwick of Bourg for 34,000 crowns, and relinquiſh'd his pretenſions to thoſe of Querfurt, Yuterbock, and Damme.

The

The North was in danger of being diſturbed again by the differences which aroſe in 1688, between the king of Denmark and the duke of Gottorp, concerning the peace of Rodſchilt, by which Charles Guſtavus had procured for the duke the intire ſovereignty of his territories. The Danes, offended at this ſovereignty, drove this prince from Schleſwick, and declared that they intended to keep poſſeſſion of this duchy, as well as of Denmark. The emperor Leopold wanted to intermeddle in the quarrel; but the king of Denmark refuſed to truſt his affairs into any other hands than thoſe of the elector. Conferences were accordingly held at Hamburg and Altena. Frederick V. offered to yield ſome counties to the duke of Gottorp, the income of which would be equal to the revenues of Schleſwick, excepting the ſovereignty. The duke refuſed thoſe offers, and Frederick-William did not live to ſee a concluſion of the affair; for death put an end to his glorious reign.

Frederick-William had been a long time troubled with the gout. This diſtemper turned into a dropſy; and as his complaint grew worſe every day, he met death with the greateſt undauntedneſs and reſolution. Two days before he died, he convened his council; and after having aſſiſted at the debates, and decided affairs with a ſound judgment, and a perfect freedom of mind, he addreſſed his diſcourſe to his miniſters, thanking them for the fidelity they had ſhewn him, and exhorting them to diſcharge their duty in the like manner to his ſon. He turned then to the electoral prince, and laid before him the ſeveral duties of a ſovereign; he gave him a ſhort analyſis of the ſtate in which he left his affairs, exhorted him to aſſiſt the prince of Orange in the expedition, which he

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was then meditating againſt England; and, above all, recommended to him the love and preſervation of his people, as a good father would have recommended his children. After which he performed ſome acts of devotion, and waited calmly for death. He expired the 29th of April 1688, with the ſame tranquillity of mind, and heroic indifference, which he had conſtantly diſplayed in all his victories.

He was twice married, the firſt time to Henrietta of Orange, mother of Frederick III. who ſucceeded him; the ſecond time to Dorothy of Holſtein, who was mother to the margraves Philip-Albert, and Lewis, and to the princeſſes Elizabeth Sophia, and Mary-Amelia.

Frederick-William was endowed with all the qualifications requiſite to form a great man, and providence furniſhed him with the proper occaſions of diſplaying them. He gave inſtances of his prudence, at an age in which unruly and fiery youth give generally only marks of licentiouſneſs. He never exerted his heroic valour in the purſuit of any baſe deſign; but employed it conſtantly in defence of his territories, or in the aſſiſtance of his allies. He was warm and prudent, qualifications that rendered him a great politician; he was induſtrious and humane, virtues which rendered him a great prince. He was inſenſible to the dangerous charms of lawleſs love, and had no other weakneſs, but for his wife and wine. His fiery temperament rendered him ſubject to tranſports of choler; but if he gave way to the firſt motion, he always checked the ſecond; and his generous heart abundantly repaired the miſtakes, which his natural impetuoſity made him commit. This prince was kind, magnanimous, charitable, humane, and

and naturally inclined to virtue; he was the reſtorer and defender of his country, the founder of its power, the arbiter of the ſeveral princes his equals, and the honour of his nation. A plain narrative of his life is his greateſt panegyric; whoever would attempt to embelliſh the ſtory, would only diminiſh its beauty: to touch his laurels would make them wither.

Europe had granted the ſurname of Great to three ſovereigns, who reigned almoſt at the ſame time, namely, Cromwell, Lewis XIV. and Frederick-William: To Cromwell, for having ſacrificed every civil duty to the deſire of reigning; for having proſtituted his talents, which inſtead of being uſeful to his country, were ſubſervient only to his ambition; for having concealed his impoſtures under the maſk of fanaticiſm; for having enſlaved his country under a pretence of fighting for her liberties; for becoming the executioner of his king, whom he ſacrificed to his fury: to Cromwell, a bold, cunning, and ambitious man, but unjuſt, violent, and void of virtue; a man, in fine, who had great qualities, but never a good one. Cromwell therefore did not deſerve the ſurname of Great, which is due only to virtue; and it would be degrading Lewis XIV. and Frederick-William, to compare them to ſuch a rival.

Theſe two princes were conſidered, each in his ſphere, as the greateſt men of their age. Sometimes the events of their life reſemble each other; and at other times ſome important circumſtances deſtroy the reſemblance. To compare thoſe princes with reſpect to their power, would be comparing Jupiter to Philoctetes, or the thunderbolts of Olympus to this hero's arrows. But if, abſtracting from their dignities, we conſider them only in regard to their perſonal qualifications,

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I am ſatisfied, that whoſoever will give his judgment impartially, will not find the ſoul and actions of the elector inferior to thoſe of the monarch.

They had both an engaging and agreeable phyſiognomy, ſtrong features, a Roman noſe, eyes that ſhewed the real ſentiments of their hearts, an eaſy acceſs, a noble air, and majeſtic gait. Lewis XIV. was ſomewhat taller, more gentle in his carriage, and more Laconic in his diſcourſe, than Frederick-William, who had contracted a ſtiff carriage in Holland, and a more diffuſive way of ſpeaking in the univerſities. Their birth was equally illuſtrious. The Bourbons, indeed, reckoned a greater number of ſovereigns among their anceſtors than the Hohenzollerns; they were alſo kings of a large monarchy, and the others only electors of a country of a ſmall extent, and partly depending on the emperors.

Theſe princes in their younger days had almoſt the ſame fate. The young king, reſiding in his own kingdom with his mother Anne of Auſtria, and his miniſter cardinal Mazarin, purſued by the flingers and the princes of the blood, beheld, from a diſtant eminence, the battle which his rebellious ſubjects fought againſt his troops in the ſuburbs of S. Antony. The young prince, whoſe father had been ſtript of his territories by the Swedes, was a kind of fugitive in Holland, where he ſerved his military prenticeſhip under Frederick Henry prince of Orange, and ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of fort Schenk and Breda. Lewis XIV. upon coming to the regency, reduced his kingdom to obedience by the weight of his royal authority. Frederick William ſucceeded his father in a country poſſeſſed by the enemy, but recovered his inheritance by policy, negotiations, and treaties.

Richlieu,

Richlieu, miniſter to Lewis XIII. was a genius of the firſt claſs; whoſe abilities laid the foundations of that grandeur, on which Lewis XIV. had only to raiſe the ſuperſtructure. Schwartzenberg miniſter to George-William was a traitor, whoſe mal-adminiſtration flung the territories of Brandenburg into that deplorable ſituation, in which Frederick-William found them when he came to the regency. The French monarch is therefore juſtly deſerving of praiſe, for having purſued the road to glory, which had been pointed out to him by Richlieu; but the German hero appears ſomething more than human, by creating his territories, as it were, anew, and by owing his grandeur entirely to the activity of his genius.

Both theſe princes commanded their armies in perſon. Lewis XIV. had under him the moſt celebrated generals in Europe, the Turenne's, the Conde's, and the Luxemburg's; encouraging abilities of every kind, exciting merit by the emulation of pleaſing him, looking on the direction of armies during the whole war as beneath him, but not diſdaining to make a campaign; beſieging towns, but avoiding battles. He was preſent in perſon at that rapid expedition, in which prince Conde ſubdued Franche Comte in three weeks. He encouraged his troops by his preſence when they paſſed the Rhine at the famous ford of Tolhuys, and drove away the Dutch, who were drawn up on the oppoſite bank; an exploit which the idolatry of his courtiers and the flattery of his poets extolled as miraculous. Frederick-William, without any able general to adviſe him, ſupplied every deficiency himſelf; he formed his own projects, and put them perſonally in execution; and tho' he thought like a general, yet he knew how to fight

like

like a ſoldier. As a contraſt to the paſſage of the Rhine, I ſhall mention the battle of Warſaw, which laſted three days, and in which the great elector was one of the principal inſtruments of the victory; againſt the conqueſt of Franche Comte, I ſhall ſet the taking of Rathenaw, and the battle of Fehrbellin, where our hero at the head of 5000 horſe charged and defeated the Swediſh army; and if this is not enough, I ſhall throw into the account the expedition of Pruſſia, where his army flew on frozen ſeas, advanced forty German miles in eight days, and where the name alone of this great prince drove the Swedes, in ſome meaſure, without fighting, intirely out of Pruſſia.

The actions of Frederick-William render him ſo much the more worthy of admiration, as they were intirely owing to the genius and courage of a prince, who with few helps undertook the boldeſt projects, and executed the moſt difficult enterprizes; his genius appeared to be fruitful of expedients, in proportion to the increaſe of the obſtacles he met with.

The actions of the French monarch dazzle us, by the magnificence with which they are diſplayed, by the importance of the objects intereſting to all Europe, and by the multitude of troops that contributed to his glory. Thoſe of the German hero ſurpriſe us by their boldneſs and rapidity; they force our admiration by the character of enthuſiaſm with which they are ſtamped.

Lewis XIV. continued ſucceſsful only during the lives of the Colberts, the Louvois's, and ſome great generals to whom France gave birth. The fortune of Frederick-William was almoſt generally conſtant and uniform. It ſeems therefore, that the grandeur of

of the one was owing to his miniſters and generals, and that the heroiſm of the other was inherent in his perſon.

The king, by his conqueſts, added Flanders, Franche Comte, Alſace, and, in ſome meaſure, Spain to his monarchy, which expoſed him to the jealouſy of all Europe. The elector acquired Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberſtat, and Minden by treaties, making ſo dexterous uſe of the envy which then reigned among his neighbours, as to render them ſubſervient to the augmentation of his grandeur.

Lewis XIV. was become the arbiter of Europe by his power, to which even the greateſt princes ſubmitted. Frederick-William became the oracle of his neighbours by his virtue, which gained him the eſteem and confidence of princes. While ſome bore with impatience the deſpotic yoke which the former impoſed upon them, others chuſed to ſubmit their differences to the juſt and impartial judgments of the latter.

In vain did Francis I. endeavour to draw the polite arts into France; this great work was reſerved for Lewis XIV. He took them under his protection, and immediately the Attic taſte and Roman urbanity were revived at Paris. Urania had a golden compaſs in her hands. The bays of Calliope were beſprinkled with the waters of Pactolus, and ſumptuous temples were appointed for an aſylum to the Muſes. George-William made ſeveral uſeleſs efforts to preſerve the taſte of agriculture in his country; but the thirty years war, like a furious torrent, laid all the north of Germany waſte. Frederick-William repeopled it, and changed the moraſſes into meadows, the deſerts into villages, the ruins into cities, and the wild

wild beaſts of the woods into numerous flocks, whoſe milk and fleeces enriched the inhabitants. The uſeful arts are the eldeſt ſiſters of the polite ones, and of courſe muſt precede them.

Lewis XIV. deſerves immortal fame even for this paſſage of his life; the memory of the elector will be dear even to his lateſt poſterity, for not having deſpaired of his country. The ſciences ought to erect altars to one, whoſe liberal protection contributed to enlighten the world; mankind ſhould raiſe altars to the other, whoſe humanity repeopled the earth. One thro' the inferiority of his ſtation reaped only corn; the other's opulence ſet him upon gathering flowers.

But the king drove the proteſtants out of France, and the elector received them into his dominions. In this reſpect the ſuperſtitious king is far inferior to the humane and tolerating prince. Policy and humanity both combine to give the elector the intire preference in this article.

With regard to gallantry, politeneſs, generoſity, vaſt deſigns, and magnificence, the French ſumptuouſneſs compared to the German frugality, carries it greatly. Lewis had as much the advantage over Frederick-William, as Lucullus over Achilles.

One granted ſubſidies by oppreſſing his people, the other received them to eaſe his. Thus France was exhauſted to ſuch a degree, that Samuel Bernard, to ſave the honour of the crown, turned bankrupt for her; but no bankruptcy of that kind ever ſtained the honour of the government of Brandenburg. The bank of his dominions maintained its ground, and kept paying notwithſtanding the irruption of the Swedes, the plundering of the Auſtrians, and the misfortune of the peſtilence.

They

They both concluded treaties, and both broke them; one thro' inſatiable ambition, and the other thro' abſolute neceſſity. The ſtrongeſt rid themſelves of the obligation of their promiſe, by their own free will; the weakeſt fail in their engagements, thro' compulſion and force.

The monarch was governed towards the end of his reign by his miſtreſs, the hero by his wife. The pride of mankind would be too much humbled, if the frailty of thoſe demi-gods did not convince us, that they are under the ſame condition of mortality as ourſelves.

They both ended, as they had lived, like great men, meeting death with unſhaken reſolution, quitting pleaſures, fortune, glory, and life, with a ſtoical indifference; holding the helm of government with a ſteady hand to the laſt moment; recommending, at their death, their people with a paternal tenderneſs to their ſucceſſors; and juſtifying by a life full of glory, virtues, and wonders, the ſurname of Great given them by their cotemporaries, and which has been confirmed to them with one common voice by poſterity.

FREDERICK III.

THE

First KING of PRUSSIA.

FREDERICK III. was born at Konigſberg in Pruſſia, the 22d of July 1657, of Louiſa-Henrietta of Orange, firſt wife to the great elector. His mother died, and the electreſs Dorothea made his life very uneaſy in his younger days. She contrived to prejudiſe Frederick-William againſt this ſon of the firſt venter, who was ſickly, and deformed, and whoſe education had been greatly neglected. The father's prepoſſeſſion againſt him went ſo far, that he would have been pleaſed to ſee the ſucceſſion devolve to prince Philip his ſecond ſon.

The electreſs was ſuſpected in thoſe days of having attempted to poiſon her ſtep-ſon; but as there is no undoubted proof of this fact, and as it is only glanced at by ſome writers, it ought not to have a place in hiſtory, which being the depoſitory of truth, ſhould never ſully the memory of the great with the imputation of heinous crimes, without having ſuch proofs as amount to full conviction.

The facts themſelves ſufficiently clear the electreſs; ſince it is certain that Frederick III. lived, and married in the 1679, for his firſt wife, Elizabeth-Henrietta, daughter

daughter of William VI. landgrave of Heſſe; and that after her deceaſe, in 1684, he was married again to Sophia Charlotte, daughter of Erneſt-Auguſtus, duke of Hanover, and ſiſter of George, who was afterwards king of England.

The electreſs Dorothea ſeemed to aim rather at the property, than the life of this prince. For it is poſitively affirmed, that the great elector was determined at her ſolicitations to make a will, by which he divided all the acquiſitions which he had made during his reign, among his children by the ſecond venter. The Auſtrian party made a proper uſe of this will to prejudiſe the elector againſt France. The emperor engaged to annul this ſettlement, on condition that Frederick III. reſtored to him the circle of Swibus; we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, in what manner this convention was executed.

The acceſſion of Frederick III. to the regency in 1688, is remarkable for the breaking out of a new war. Lewis XIV. was the cauſe of it, who inſiſted upon ſome bailiwicks of the Palatinate, as belonging to the ducheſs of Orleans. He complained alſo of the affront done him by the German princes, who had entered into a league againſt him at Augſburg; and he declared, that he was obliged in honour to maintain the election made by the canons of Cologne, in favour of the prince of Furſtemberg, which was oppoſed by the emperor.

This declaration of war was backed by armies. The marſhals de Duras and Montglas took Worms, Philipſburg, and Mentz. The Dauphin beſieged Manheim and Franckendahl in perſon; and almoſt the whole courſe of the Rhine fell, in leſs than one campaign, under the French dominion.

The elector, who imputed all the vexation which his ſtep-mother had given him to France, becauſe ſhe had her particular reaſons for engaging Frederick-William in the intereſt of Lewis XIV. had an utter averſion for every thing that was French. This averſion was diligently fomented by the Auſtrian party, as it could not but turn out to their advantage; they encouraged it alſo by creating that phantom of the univerſal monarchy of Lewis XIV. with which they bewitched one half of Europe. Germany was often alarmed by this childiſh bug-bear, and plunged into wars, in which ſhe had no manner of concern: but as the edge of the very beſt weapons grows blunt in time, theſe arguments inſenſibly loſt their illuſory force; and the German princes at length perceived, that if they had any arbitrary power to dread, it was not that of Lewis XIV.

At that time the ſpell was in its full force, and operated efficaciouſly on a mind diſpoſed by prejudices to give it a favourable reception. Frederick III. thought himſelf therefore obliged to aſſiſt the emperor; and ſent general Schoning with a conſiderable body of troops to the Upper Rhine. The Brandenburghers having made themſelves maſters of Rhinbergue; the elector took the command of the army in perſon, and laid ſiege to Bonn. Mentz ſurrendered to the allies; the troops which had taken this town joined the elector, and hindred Boufflers from relieving Bonn; ſo that Asfeldt, who was governor of this place, ſurrundered it by capitulation the 12th of October.

The elector made the enſuing compaign in 1690, and continued to furniſh conſiderable ſuccours to the powers allied againſt France.

William,

William, prince of Orange had undertaken the conqueſt of England, ſoon after the death of the great elector. A Jew of Amſterdam, by name Schwartzau, lent him two millions for this expedition; telling him, If you ſucceed, I know you will pay it me again; if you miſcarry, I am willing to loſe it. With this ſum William landed in England, where he dethroned James his father-in-law, ſubdued the oppoſite party, and became, in ſome meaſure, the lawful ſovereign of thoſe three kingdoms, by the conſent of the people, who ſeemed to juſtify his uſurpation. James, who was incapable of conciliating the public eſteem on the throne, or of reigning over a nation whoſe privileges he ſhould have regarded, let the ſcepter ſlip through his hands; and being purſued by his own children, who had ſtripped him of the crown, he retired into France, where neither his dignity, nor misfortunes, could procure him any eſteem.

The new king of England took the command of the allied army in 1691. He governed Europe by his intrigues, exciting the jealouſy of every prince againſt the power of Lewis XIV. whom he mortally hated. The world was all up in arms, to keep him in poſſeſſion of that deſpotic power with which he governed the United Provinces, and which he would have loſt in time of peace. He was called the king of Holland, and ſtadtholder of England. Though he was unſucceſsful in war, where he was generally beaten; yet he was fertile and vigilant in repairing his loſſes; which rendered him the hydra of the fable; ſo that he was as much dreaded by his enemies after his defeats, as Lewis XIV. after his victories. He

had an interview with the elector concerning the political intereſts of thoſe times.

There was too wide a difference in the character of theſe two princes, to expect any thing of importance from their deliberations. William was grave, plain, and full of ſolidity: Frederick III. was reſtleſs, impatient, prepoſſeſſed with the idea of his grandeur and magnificence, regulating the moſt trifling actions with the exact compaſs of a ceremonial. The punctilio of a great chair had like to have embroiled thoſe princes for ever. And yet the elector ſent 15000 Brandenburgers to join the army in Flanders commanded by king William, and another conſiderable body of troops to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Infidels. Theſe troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the battle of Salanquemen, which prince Eugene gained againſt the Turks.

King William who was leſs fortunate, or leſs ſkilful, loſt in Flanders the battles of Leuſden and Landen in 1692.

Erneſt-Auguſtus, duke of Hanover, father-in-law of Frederick III. ſupplied the emperor with a body of 6000 men in 1693, and in return for this aſſiſtance he received the electoral dignity. The creation of this ninth electorate met with great oppoſition in the empire. None but the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony conſented to it; but as the emperor wanted real ſuccours, he did not think that he purchaſed them too dear with frivolous titles.

This ſeemed to be the ſeaſon in which the ambition of princes was to bud and diſcloſe itſelf. The time for aggrandizing themſelves proved ſo favourable, that William prince of Orange was become king of England, and Erneſt duke of Hanover was made

made elector. Auguſtus of Saxony was upon the point of being choſen king of Poland, and Frederick III. began now to meditate the ſcheme of his royalty.

As this is one of the principal articles of this prince's life, and an event of great importance to the houſe of Brandenburg; and as the project of royalty is a chain, on which every action of Frederick III. depends, it is neceſſary that I ſhould explain here the motives that gave riſe to it, the means by which it was executed, and ſome circumſtances that influenced the political meaſures of thoſe times.

The ambition of Frederick III. was confined, as well by his ſtation, as by his dominions. He was too weak to raiſe himſelf above the heads of his neighbours, who were as ſtrong and as powerful as himſelf; therefore he had no other expedient left but the pomp of titles, to ſupply the intrinſic defect of power. Hence all his thoughts and deſires were turned towards the regal dignity.

We find in our archives a very ſenſible memorial, which is attributed to father Vota, a jeſuit. It runs chiefly upon the choice of one of theſe titles, either that of the king of the Vandals, or of the king of Pruſſia; and on the advantages ariſing from the regal dignity. It ſeems wrong to attribute this work to that Jeſuit, eſpecially as the ſociety could have no intereſt in aggrandizing a proteſtant prince. Beſides, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the elevation of the prince of Orange, and the expectation of Auguſtus of Saxony, rendered Frederick III. jealous, and raiſed an emulation in him, to place himſelf like them on a throne. We are generally miſtaken, when we ſeek

for the principles of human actions any where but in the paſſions and affections of mankind.

So difficult was this project to execute, that it appeared chimerical to the elector's council. His miniſters, Danckelman and Fuchs, objected againſt the frivolouſneſs of it, the inſuperable obſtacles by which they foreſaw it would be obſtructed, the little benefit to be reaped from it, and the great trouble and expence that muſt neceſſarily be incurred to maintain the ſplendor of a dignity, from which nothing could be expected but empty honours. But all theſe arguments had no manner of weight with a prince, prepoſſeſſed with his own ideas, jealous of his neighbours, and greedy of grandeur and magnificence.

From this day, Danckelman dated his diſgrace. He was ſent afterwards to Spandaw, for telling his ſentiments too freely, for diſcloſing the truth without artifice or diſguiſe, to a court corrupted by flattery; and for contradicting a prince, who was full of his vain projects of grandeur.

There is a medium between the poiſon of flattery, and the wholeſome ſeverity of truth, which is conſiſtent with the character of a man of honour. The lectures of a Miſanthrope exaſperate the mind; but thoſe ſage counſels which ſoften the ſeverity of truth, are like the honey, which is put round the brim of a veſſel full of wormwood. It is a vehicle that conceals the bitterneſs of it. Happy thoſe princes, whoſe ears are not ſo delicate but they can have a reliſh for truth, even when conveyed by ind ſcreet ſpeeches! but this is an effort of virtue which few men arrive at.

Danckelman was ſucceeded in the prince's favour by a young courtier, very little known for genius or abilities; this was baron de Colbe, afterwards count de

de Wartemberg. He was not indeed poſſeſſed of thoſe ſhining virtues, which command the admiration of the public; but he was maſter of the art profeſſed at court, which is that of attendance and flattery, or rather of ſervile meanneſs. Thus he entered blindly into his maſter's views, from a conviction, that to render himſelf ſubſervient to the gratifying of his prince's paſſion, was the way to make his own fortune.

Colbe was not ſo ignorant, as not to ſee that he wanted an able perſon to aſſiſt him in his new employment. D'Ilgen, who was clerk in the ſecretary of ſtate's office for foreign affairs, gained his confidence, and directed him with ſo much prudence, that Colbe was declared prime miniſter, and obtained the department of foreign affairs.

Frederick III. was flattered only with the externals of royalty, with the pomp of ſcenery, and with a kind of irregular ſelf-love, which takes a pleaſure in making others ſenſible of their inferiority. But that which was the effect of a childiſh vanity, turned out afterwards a maſter-piece of politics: for the regal dignity reſcued the houſe of Brandenburg from that ſtate of ſervitude, in which the houſe of Auſtria had hitherto kept the princes of Germany. It was a kind of bait, which Frederick flung before all his poſterity, by which he ſeemed to ſay to them,

"I have procured you a title, ſhew yourſelves worthy of it; I have laid the foundation of your grandeur, it is your buſineſs to raiſe the ſuperſtructure."

Frederick III. was obliged to put every ſpring of politics in motion, and to exhauſt the whole art of intriguing to bring his project to bear. But firſt of all,

all, it was neceſſary to make ſure of the emperor's good diſpoſitions, as the approbation of that prince was likely to draw after it the ſuffrages of the whole Germanic body. In order therefore to determine him in his favour, the elector reſtored to him the circle of Swibus, and was ſatisfied with the expectancy of the principality of Eaſt-Friſeland, and the barony of Limburg, to which the electoral family had otherwiſe uncontested rights. From the ſame principles the troops of Brandenburg ſerved in the Imperial armies in Flanders, on the Rhine, and in Hungary; tho' the elector had, neither directly nor indirectly, any intereſt in thoſe wars, and it would have been far more advantageous to him to have obſerved an exact neutrality.

While Europe was thus torn with bloody wars, the elector, after his father's example, reconciled in 1695 the dukes of Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and de Strelitz, who were quarrelling about the ſucceſſion. The univerſity of Halle was founded in 1696. He built thoſe beautiful ſluices on the Salle, which facilitate the trade and exportation of ſalt; and in 1697, he received that extraordinary embaſſy, in the retinue of which the Czar Peter Alexiowitz was himſelf in perſon

This young prince diſcovered, merely by the ſtrength of his own genius, that he himſelf was a barbarian, and his people ſavages. He had now quitted his dominions for the firſt time, excited by the noble ambition of getting inſtruction, and of carrying back to his ſubjects the light of reaſon, and the uſe of induſtry, which they wanted. Nature had formed him to be a great man, but the want of education had left him a ſavage. Hence it came, that there

there was ſuch a ſtrange mixture in his conduct; actions really great, with ridiculous ſingularities; witty repartees, with brutiſh manners; noble and uſeful deſigns, with inſtances of the moſt cruel revenge. He complained himſelf, that he had contrived to civilize his nation, and yet he could not ſubdue his own ferocity. In point of morals, he was an odd phænomenon, that inſpired admiration and terror. To his ſubjects he was like a ſtorm, whoſe fury beats down ſteeples and trees, while it refreſhes the country with fruitful rain. From Berlin he ſet out for Holland, and from Holland he paſſed over to England.

Europe was now diſpoſed for a general peace. The allies were diſcouraged with the bad ſucceſs of their arms; and Lewis XIV. ſeeing Charles II. king of Spain in a declining ſtate of health, and of a conſtitution that could not hold out much longer, liſtened to propoſals of accommodation. Tho' he reſtored his conqueſts, almoſt without any manner of reſtriction, yet he ſacrificed only tranſient advantages to more important views. He wanted the conveniency and ſweets of peace, to prepare himſelf for a new war, which was likely to be of the utmoſt conſequence to the houſe of Bourbon. The peace was concluded at Ryſwick, and the elector, who was concerned in this war only out of complaiſance, reaped no benefit from it.

In the North, Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, was elected king of Poland in 1698, where the intrigues of Fleming, his miniſter and general, prevailed over the treaſures diſtributed by prince Conti. The new king of Poland exhauſted himſelf by his extravagant expences, which obliged him to ſell the advow-

advowſon of the abby of Quedlinburg and of Peterſberg at Halle, in 1699, to Frederick III.

The elector made a proper uſe of the troubles of Poland, and took poſſeſſion of Elbing, as an indemnity for a ſum of money due to him by the Poles An accommodation was agreed upon, by which the Poles left a crown, and ſome Ruſſian jewels, with him in pledge. Upon which the elector evacuated the town, and kept poſſeſſion of the territory of Elbing, with the conſent of the republic.

It was not long before the tranquillity of Europe was diſturbed again in the beginning of this century, on account of the ſucceſſion of Charles II. king of Spain, which upon this prince's deceaſe was diſputed by the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria.

Attempts had been made to prevent the bloody wars which were likely to be occaſioned by this ſucceſſion. Lewis XIV. had agreed with the maritime powers to a treaty of partition. Other meaſures were afterwards taken; but fate had decreed, that every endeavour of that kind ſhould prove ineffectual. The young prince of Bavaria, who was deſigned for the throne of Spain, died even before Charles II.

The emperor, moreover, proteſted againſt this partition. This prince maintained the indiviſibility of the Spaniſh monarchy, pretending, that as they were of the ſame houſe, divided into two branches, they had a right to ſucceed to each other, that of Spain to that of Auſtria, and alternately. The emperor Leopold and Lewis XIV. were in the ſame degree of kindred, both grandſons of Philip III. and both married to the daughters of Philip IV. But the right of ſeniority was in the houſe of Bourbon; and Lewis XIV. founded his pretenſions chiefly on that famous

famous will of Charles II. which cardinal Portocarero, his confeſſor, made him ſign with a trembling hand, as he was ready to expire. This will changed the face of all Europe.

Lewis XIV. reſigned his rights to his grandſon, Philip of Anjou, expecting to remove by the nomination of this prince, who was ſo diſtant from the crown of France, the difficulties and obſtacles which the jealouſy of Europe might raiſe againſt his grandeur. Philip ſet out for Spain, and was acknowledged king by all Europe, except the emperor Joſeph.

At the commencement of this war, France was at her higeſt pitch of grandeur. She had been victorious over all her enemies; and the peace of Ryſwick was a late inſtance of her moderation. Lewis XIV. diſplayed his ſplendor and magnificence throughout the univerſe; he was every where feared and reſpected. France was then like a wreſtler, prepared for combat, that entered into the liſts where no adverſary appeared. No military preparation was omitted upon this occaſion, and the armaments by ſea and land were equally numerous. This monarchy, in her greateſt efforts, maintained an army of four hundred thouſand men; but her great generals were dead, and (before the merit of Villars was known) France was found to have 800,000 arms without a head. So true it is, that the fate of ſtates depends very often upon a ſingle man.

The houſe of Auſtria, almoſt exhauſted by continual wars, was far from being in ſo happy a ſituation. Her government was in a weak and languiſhing condition; and tho' joined to the Germanic body, yet ſhe was incapable of doing any thing without the

the aſſiſtance of the Dutch and the Engliſh. But with leſs ſupplies and troops than France, ſhe had prince Eugene of Savoy at the head of her armies

King William, who governed England and Holland, was in the utmoſt degree of ſurpriſe upon receiving this news, ſo that he acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain thro' a kind of precipitation. But when he had time to reflect and recover his natural flegm, he declared for the houſe of Auſtria, becauſe the Engliſh would have it ſo, and his own intereſt ſeemed to demand it.

The north itſelf was plunged at this time into a war, which Charles XII. was carrying on Denmark. Charles's youth had emboldened his neighbours to attack him, but they found a prince in whom were joined the moſt impetuous courage and the moſt implacable revenge.

Frederick III. who was then at peace, was drawn into the grand alliance againſt Lewis XIV. which was animated by king William; from the expectation of paving the way to the regal dignity by this ſervice, and with a view of maintaining by ſubſidies a numerous body of troops, and that this foreign money might ſupport him with more eaſe in his prodigality and magnificence.

It is difficult to conceive how great and generous ſouls can ſtoop ſo low as to receive alms from their equals. Vain were the atempts of France to draw the elector off from this alliance; he was inticed to it by ſubſidies, by inclination, and by his expectations.

It was in this conjuncture, that the treaty of coronation was negotiated at Vienna, by which the emperor engaged to acknowledge Frederick III. king of

Pruſſia, on condition that he ſhould furniſh a body of 10,000 men to the allies during the whole courſe of the war, that he ſhould maintain a company in gariſon at Philipsburg, that he ſhould join with the emperor in all affairs relating to the empire, that his royal dignity ſhould make no alteration with regard to his German territories, that he ſhould relinquiſh the ſubſidy due to him by the houſe of Auſtria, and that he ſhould promiſe to give his vote for the election of the male children of the emperor Joſeph, "unleſs there ſhould be very weighty and important reaſons that would oblige him to chuſe an emperor of another family."

This treaty was ſigned and ratified. Rome cried out, and Warſaw was ſilent. The Teutonic order proteſted againſt this act, and even preſumed to reclaim Pruſſia; but the king of England, who wanted only allies to join with him againſt France, was ready to purchaſe them at any price. As he ſtood in need of the elector's aſſiſtance in the grand alliance, he was one of the firſt that acknowledged his new dignity. King Auguſtus, who was buſy in ſecuring his own crown, ſubſcribed to it alſo. The king of Denmark, who only dreaded and envied Sweden, made no difficulty to join with the reſt. Charles XII. being engaged in a difficult war, did not think it worth while to enter into a diſpute about a title which might increaſe the number of his enemies; and the empire, as it was foreſeen, was drawn in by the emperor. Thus ended this great affair, which had met with ſuch oppoſition from the elector's council, from foreign courts, from friends, as well as foes; an affair which requiring a complication of ſuch extraordinary circumſtances to make it ſucceed, had

been

been treated as a chimera, but of which the public now conceived a far different opinion. When prince Eugene heard the news, he ſaid that the emperor ought to hang thoſe miniſters who had given him ſo treacherous a counſel.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed the year following, which was 1701. The king, whom we ſhall henceforward call Frederick I. went to Pruſſia, and at the ceremony of the conſecration it was obſerved, that he put the crown himſelf on his head. In memory of this event, he created the order of the knights of the black eagle.

The public, notwithſtanding, could not diveſt themſelves of the prejudice they had conceived againſt this royalty. The common ſenſe of the vulgar would have been glad to ſee an augmentation of power, as well as of dignity. Even thoſe who were above the vulgar thought in the ſame manner; and the electreſs was heard to ſay to one of her ladies in waiting, "that it vexed her to the very heart to go and act in Pruſſia the theatrical queen along with her Eſop." She wrote alſo to Leibnitz, "Do not imagine that I prefer this pageantry and pomp of crowns, which are here ſo much eſteemed, to the charms of the philoſophical entertainments we enjoyed at Charlottenburg."

At the preſſing ſolicitations of this princeſs, a royal academy of ſciences was erected at Berlin, of which Leibnitz was the founder and chief. Frederick I. was perſuaded that it ſuited his dignity to maintain an academy, as a young gentleman is made to believe, that it becomes his quality to keep a pack of hounds. We intend to treat more at large of this academy in its proper place.

After

After the coronation, the king indulged his inclination for ceremony and magnificence, without any manner of bounds. At his return from Pruſſia, he made a magnificent entry into Berlin.

During the diverſion of theſe feaſts and ſolemnities, news came that Charles XII. the Alexander of the North, who in every reſpect would have reſembled the king of Macedon, if he had been as ſucceſsful, had gained a compleat victory over the Saxons in the neighbourhood of Riga. The king of Denmark, as we have already obſerved, and the Czar, had attacked this young hero, one in Norway, and the other in Livonia. Charles XII. obliged the Daniſh monarch in his own capital to conclude a peace; from thence he paſſed with 800,000 Swedes into Livonia, defeated 80,000 Ruſſians in the neighbourhood of Narva, and beat 30,000 Saxons at the paſſage of the Dwina.

The Saxons in their flight drew near the frontiers of Pruſſia. Frederick I. was ſo much the more uneaſy at this, as the greateſt part of his troops were in the Imperial armies, and the war was ſhifting towards his new kingdom. Nevertheleſs, Charles XII. out of regard to the interceſſions of the emperor, England, and Holland, agreed to a neutrality for Pruſſia.

This year 1702 was famous for the triumphs of the king of Sweden; he diſpoſed of Poland like a ſovereign, his negotiations were orders, and his battles victories; but as glorious as theſe victories were, ſtill they waſted the conquerors, and obliged the young hero very often to recruit his armies. A body of Swediſh troops landed in Pomerania, at which Berlin was alarmed; theſe marched notwithſtanding through

the electorate, and arrived in Poland the place of their deſtination.

Frederick I. raiſed 8000 men new troops. Inſtead of employing them for the ſecurity of his own dominions, he ſent them to the allied army in Flanders. He went himſelf to the duchy of Cleves, to demand the inheritance of William king of England, who was ſucceeded in the throne by Anne, the ſecond daughter of king James.

The rights of Frederick I. were founded on the will of Frederick Henry prince of Orange, who had ſettled his eſtate, in failure of male iſſue, on his daughter, who was married to the great elector. King William made quite another will in favour of the Friſian prince of Naſſaw, and appointed the States General his executors. This inheritance conſiſted of the principality of Orange, Moeurs, and ſeveral lordſhips and eſtates ſituated in Holland and Zealand.

Frederick I. threatned to withdraw his troops from Flanders, if he did not receive ſatisfaction. This menace convinced the Dutch of the legality of his rights. They contrived, nevertheleſs, a proviſional agreement, which divided the inheritance into two equal ſhares. A large diamond was immediately ſent to Frederick I. and he conſented to let his troops continue in Flanders. Lewis XIV. put the prince of Conti in poſſeſſion of the principality of Orange, a proceeding which ſo greatly offended the king, that he increaſed his army, and even hired ſome troops of Gotha and Wolfenbuttle. He declared ſoon after war againſt France, becauſe Boufflers's army had committed ſome exceſſes in the country of Cleves. Lewis XIV. did not feel in this ſtep a new enemy; while the new king did a great deal for his paſſion, but

but nothing for his intereſt. He ſhewed his averſion to France upon all occaſions, even ſo as to oblige duke Antony Ulrick of Wolfenbuttle to renounce the engagements he had contracted with Lewis XIV. after the duke of Hanover and Zell had diſperſed the troops which he maintained by the help of French ſubſidies.

At that time, viz. in 1703, England exerted herſelf greatly in favour of the houſe of Auſtria. Her fleets convoyed the arch-duke Charles, who was afterwards emperor, to a kingdom, which an Engliſh army was to help him to conquer. The enthuſiaſm of Europe in favour of the houſe of Auſtria can hardly be deſcribed.

In this war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, the Pruſſian troops maintained the reputation which they had acquired under the great elector. On the Rhine they took Keyſerſwerth in Germany; and at the action of Hochſtet, where Villars ſurpriſed and beat Stirheim, the prince of Anhalt made a fine retreat with 8000 Pruſſians under his command. I have been told, that as ſoon as he perceived the confuſion and fright of the Auſtrians, he formed his troops into a ſquare, and traverſed a large plain in very good order, till he came to a wood, which he reached towards night; and all this while the French cavalry never durſt attack him.

The ſucceſs of the Pruſſian troops on the Rhine, and their good conduct in Suabia, did not ſecure Frederick I. againſt the apprehenſion he was under from the neighbourhood of the Swedes, whom, at that time, nothing could withſtand. The genius of Peter I. and the magnificence of Auguſtus, were of no force againſt the fortune of Charles XII. This hero was

at the ſame time more valiant than the Czar, and more vigilant than the king of Poland. Peter preferred ſtratagem to bravery, Auguſtus pleaſure to toils, and Charles the love of glory to the poſſeſſion of the univerſe. The Saxons were often ſurpriſed or beaten, the Ruſſians had learnt the art of retreating at their own expence; for the war at that time was only a continual ſeries of incurſions, the Swediſh armies being always the aſſailants, and always victorious. But Charles XII. whoſe inflexible obſtinacy never in the leaſt gave way, could execute no project, but by main force: he ſubdued, as it were, fortune as well as his enemies. The Czar and the king of Poland ſupplied this enthuſiaſtic valour by cabinet intrigues; they awakened the jealouſy of Europe, and ſtirred up the envy of every power againſt the ſucceſſes of an ambitious young prince, who was implacable in his hatred, and knew not how to be revenged of the kings his enemies but by dethroning them.

Theſe intrigues did not hinder Frederick I. who had no troops then at hand, from concluding a defenſive alliance with Charles XII. who had a victorious army in the neigbourhood. Frederick I. and Staniſlaus acknowledged each other's regal dignity; but this treaty laſted no longer than fortune continued to favour the king of Sweden.

Notwithſtanding this alliance the king provided all the fortified towns in Pruſſia with ſufficient gariſons in 1703, and the year following he ſent freſh ſuccours to the allied army in Suabia. The Pruſſians had a conſiderable ſhare in gaining the famous battle of Hochſtet; they were in the right wing under the orders of the prince of Anhalt, and in that body of the army which was commanded by prince Eugene. At the firſt

firſt onſet the Imperial horſe and foot gave way to the French and Bavarians, but the Pruſſians ſtood the ſhock, and broke thro' the enemy. Prince Eugene being greatly vexed at the bad conduct of the Auſtrians, came and put himſelf at the head of the Pruſſian troops, ſaying that he wanted to fight with brave fellows, and not with poltroons. Every one knows that my lord Marlborough took a conſiderable body of the French army, both horſe and foot, priſoners at the village of Blenheim, and that the loſs of this battle made the French loſe Bavaria and Suabia.

After terminating this glorious campaign, my lord Marlborough repaired to Berlin, to perſuade Frederick I. to ſend a body of troops into Italy. This Engliſhman, who had formed a judgment of the projects of Charles XII. by ſeeing a map laid out on his table, ſoon diſcovered the character of Frederick I. by caſting an eye on his court. He was full of ſubmiſſion and cringing before this prince, flattering upon every occaſion his vanity, and even preſſing to hold the ewer to him, as he roſe from table. Frederick could not withſtand him, and granted to the artful flattery of the courtier, what he would have refuſed, perhaps, to the merit of the great general, and to the capacity of the profound politician. The prince of Anhalt was ordered therefore to march into Italy at the head of 8,000 men.

The death of the queen Sophia Charlotte, in 1705, put the court into mourning. She was a princeſs of ſingular merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her ſex, with the graces of wit and the ſolidity of reaſon. In her younger days ſhe had travelled into Italy and France, under the care of her relations. She was deſigned for the crown of France, Lewis XIV.

having been ſtruck with her beauty; but political reaſons defeated this marriage. This princeſs brought along with her the ſpirit of ſociability, true politeneſs, and the love of arts and ſciences, into Pruſſia. She founded, as I have already obſerved, the royal academy. She invited Leibnitz, and ſeveral other learned men to her court; her curioſity leading her to diſcover the firſt principles of things. One day, as ſhe preſſed Leibnitz very hard upon this ſubject, this philoſopher replied to her; "Madam, there is no poſſibility of ſatisfying you: you want to know the why and the wherefore." Charlottenburg was the rendezvous of people of taſte; and the great variety of diverſions and entertainments contributed to render this abode delightful, and the court moſt ſplendid.

Sophia Charlotte had a great and noble ſoul; her religion was pure, her temper ſweet, and her mind was improved with the reading of good books both in French and Italian. She died at Hanover among her own relations. They wanted to introduce a Calviniſt miniſter into her apartment; but ſhe ſaid to them; "Let me die in peace, without diſputing." Upon this occaſion one of the ladies of honour, whom ſhe was very fond of, was diſſolved in tears. "Do not cry for me, (ſays ſhe) for I am going now to ſatisfy my curioſity on the principles of things, which Leibnitz could not explain to me, on ſpace, infinity, on being, on nothing; and I am preparing for the king my husband the ſhew of my funeral, where he will have another opportunity to diſplay his magnificence." She recommended, upon her deathbed, the learned whom ſhe had taken under her protection, and the arts which ſhe had cultivated, to the

the elector her brother. Frederick I. comforted himſelf with the ceremony of a funeral pomp, for the loſs of a wife, whoſe death could never be too much lamented.

In Italy the war was reſumed in 1706 with greater fury. The Pruſſians, who were ſent thither at the inſtances of my lord Marlborough, were beaten at Caſano, under prince Eugene; and at Calcinato, where General Reventlau, who commanded them, was ſurpriſed by the grand prior.

Prince Eugene was not invincible, but he always ſhewed himſelf the great general in retrieving his loſſes; and the diſgrace of Caſano was ſoon wiped off by gaining the famous battle of Turin, in which the Pruſſians had the greateſt ſhare. Tho' the duke of Orleans propoſed to the French to march out of their intrenchments, yet his advice was not followed. Feuillade and Marſin had expreſs orders from court, as it is poſitively affirmed, not to venture a battle. The defeat of Hochſtet ſeemed to have rendered the council of Lewis XIV. more cautious.

The French, who would have had double the advantage of the allies, if they had attacked them out of their intrenchments, were inferior to them every where, becauſe the different quarters which they had to defend were of a great extent, and ſeparated beſides from each other.

The Pruſſians, who were in the left wing of the allied army, attacked the right of the French intrenchment, which extended towards the Doria. The prince of Anhalt was now on the border of the ditch, and the reſiſtance made by the enemy had ſlackened the vigour of his attack, when three grenadiers ſlid along the Doria, and came round the French in-

trenchment at a place where it was not ſecured by this river. Immediately the alarm flew thro' the French army, that they were cut off; upon which they deſerted their poſts and fled, and at the ſame time the prince of Anhalt ſcaled the intrenchment, and gained the battle. Prince Eugene complimented the king upon the behaviour of his troops; a commendation that muſt have been ſo much the more agreeable to him, as it came from a prince who was ſo compleat a judge of military merit.

During this war, Frederick I. made ſome pacific acquiſitions. He purchaſed the county of Tecklenburg in Weſtphalia of the count of Solms Braunfield; and upon the deceaſe of the ducheſs of Nemours, who was in poſſeſſion of the principality of Neufchatel, the council of ſtate belonging to that principality took the regency into their own hands, and choſe ſome of their members judges, to determine the pretenſions formed by the king of Pruſſia on the one hand, and by the ſeveral relations of the houſe of Longueville on the other. Their deciſion was in favour of the king, who was ſaid to have the beſt right as heir of the houſe of Orange. Lewis XIV. oppoſed this ſentence, but he had ſuch great intereſts of his own to diſcuſs as would not permit him to attend at that time to theſe trifling diſputes, and the ſovereignty of Neufchatel was ſecured to the royal family by the treaty of Utrecht.

Charles XII. was now arrived to his higheſt pitch of proſperity. He had dethroned Auguſtus king of Poland, and preſcribed moſt ſevere conditions of peace to him at Alt-Ranſtadt in the middle of Saxony. The king wanting this prince to quit Saxony, ſent his great marſhal Printz to deſire him not to diſturb the tran-

tranquility of Germany by continuing there with his troops.

Charles XII. who was diſpoſed, of his own accord, to quit the territories of a prince whom he had reduced to deſpair, in order to play the ſame game with the Czar at Moſcow, took it amiſs that Printz ſhould make him ſuch a propoſal, and ſneering, aſked him, "Whether the Pruſſian troops were as good as thoſe of Brandenburg?" "Yes, Sire, replied the envoy, they are the remains of thoſe veterans that were at Fehrbellin." As Charles XII. paſſed through Sileſia, he obliged the emperor to reſtore 125 churches to the proteſtants of that duchy. The pope complained of this conceſſion, and did not even ſpare his cenſures. Joſeph anſwered, that if the king of Sweden had propoſed to him to become a Lutheran himſelf, he did not know what might have happened.

Thoſe very Swedes, who at that time, viz. in 1708, were the terror of the north, concurred with the Pruſſians and Hanoverians in re-eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the city of Hamburg, which had been diſturbed by a popular inſurrection. Frederick I. ſent 4000 men to ſupport the prerogatives of the magiſtrates. He had ſome difference with the city of Cologne, becauſe the mob had broke into the houſe of the Pruſſian reſident, who kept a proteſtant chapel. The king ordered the merchandiſes of Cologne to be ſtopped, which paſſed by Weſel, in their way down the Rhine, and threatned to ſuppreſs the public worſhip of the Roman Catholic religion in his dominions, in the ſame manner as had been practiſed, when the elector Palatine perſecuted the Proteſtants in the Palatinate. The fear of theſe repriſals reduced the city of Cologne to their duty, and made them

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ſenſible, that toleration is a virtue, which it is ſometimes dangerous to violate.

The court of Frederick I. was full of intrigues. This prince was like a tempeſtuous ſea, driving different ways according to the different winds; but in the midſt of all theſe ſtorms, which were raiſed by the paſſions of courtiers, D'Ilgen ſtill continued to direct the helm of government with a ſure and ſteady hand. The king's favourites were men of little or no genius, their intrigues and artifices were of too coarſe a nature to eſcape the public eye; even the prince royal could not diſſemble the diſpleaſure he conceived at their conduct. Theſe marks of his diſaffection ſet them upon ſupporting their credit with a new prop; for which reaſon they perſuaded the king to marry, though he was very infirm, living only by art, and of ſo craſy a conſtitution, as to be hardly able to draw the little breath ſtill left in his body. They choſe a princeſs of Meclenburg Schwerin for him, named Sophia Louiſa, whoſe age, way of thinking, and inclinations, did not agree with the king's. In fact, he had no ſatisfaction with her, but in the ceremony of the nuptials; the remainder of their time was very unfortunate.

Frederick I. ſtill continued to receive favourable accounts of his troops; they ſignalized themſelves as much in Flanders as in Italy, and behaved moſt gallantly under the command of the count of Lothum, at the battle of Oudenarde, and at the ſiege of Liſle.

Fortune was tired at length with protecting the caprices of Charles XII. He had enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs for nine years, viz. till 1709; but the laſt nine years of his life were a continual ſcene of adverſity. He was now returned victorious

torious to Poland with a numerous army, loaded with the treaſures and ſpoils of the Saxons.

Leipſick was the Capua of the Swedes: whether it was, that the pleaſures of Saxony had ſoftened the ferocity of thoſe conquerors, or proſperity had rendered this prince too preſumptuous, and puſhed him too far; fortune entirely forſook him. He wanted to diſpoſe of Ruſſia in the ſame manner as of Poland, and to dethrone the Czar, as he had done Auguſtus. With this view he marched towards the frontiers of Muſcovy, to which there were two different roads; one through Livonia, where he might have received ſuccours from Sweden, and by which he might have advanced to the new town, which the Czar was building at that time upon the borders of the Baltic, and by that means have utterly cut off the connexion then projected between Ruſſia and Europe. The other road was through the Uckraine, and led to Moſcow by impracticable deſerts. Charles determined upon the laſt, either becauſe he had heard it ſaid, that the Romans could never be conquered but at Rome, or the difficulty of the enterprize inflamed his courage, or that he depended upon Mazeppa, prince of the Coſſacks, who had promiſed to furniſh his army with proviſions, and to join him with a conſiderable number of his people. The Czar having received intelligence of this Coſſack's intrigues, diſperſed the few troops which Mazeppa had collected, and made himſelf maſter of the magazines; ſo that when the king of Sweden came before the little town of Pultowa, he found nothing but frightful deſerts inſtead of magazines, and a fugitive prince, who came to ſeek for ſhelter in his camp, inſtead of a powerful ally, from whom he expected ſuccours.

Charles was no way daunted at this diſappointment.

ment. He laid ſiege to Pultowa, as if he wanted nothing; and he, who till now had been invulnerable, was wouuded in the leg, as he was reconnoitering this paltry town too near. General Lewenhaupt, who was marching to him with proviſions, ammunition, and a reinforcement of thirteen thouſand men, was defeated by the Czar in three different engagements; and being forced in this neceſſitous conjuncture to burn the waggons under his care, he arrived in the king's camp with only three thouſand men, who were quite exhauſted with fatigue.

The Czar ſoon drew near to Pultowa, and in this plain was fought that famous battle between the two moſt extraordinary men of their age.

Charles, who hitherto, like the arbiter of fate, had met with nothing that could withſtand his will, did every thing that could be expected from a prince who was wounded, and carried about in a litter. Peter Alexiowitz, who till now had appeared only as a legiſlator, gave proofs on that memorable day of his being poſſeſſed of all the qualifications of a great general; and indeed he out-did himſelf. But every thing proved unlucky to the Swedes; the wounding of their king, which hindered him in great meaſure from acting; the miſery and want of his ſoldiers, which deprived them of ſtrength and heart to fight; the abſence of a large detachment of troops, which loſt its way the very day of this deciſive engagement; the numbers of their enemies, and the time they had to erect redoubts, and to diſpoſe their troops to advantage. In ſhort, the Swedes were beaten, and loſt, by one deciſive and unlucky engagement, the fruits of nine years labour, and of ſo many prodigies of valour.

Charles

Charles was obliged to fly for ſhelter among the Turks: his implacable animoſity againſt his enemies followed him to Bender, where he endeavoured in vain, by his intrigues, to ſtir up the Porte againſt the Muſcovites. Thus he fell the victim of his inflexibility of mind, which would have been called obſtinacy, if he had not been an hero. After this defeat, the Swediſh army laid down their arms to the Czar on the banks of the Boriſthenes, as the Ruſſian army had done to Charles XII. on the borders of the Baltic, after the battle of Narva.

Auguſtus finding his antagoniſt overthrown, thought himſelf diſcharged from the engagement which he had contracted at the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt. He had a conference at Berlin with the king of Denmark and Frederick I. after which he entered Poland with an army, and the king of Denmark attacked the Swedes in Scania. Frederick I. whom thoſe princes could not draw into the alliance, remained neuter.

In Poland the Swediſh party changed ſides, and went over to the Saxons. Staniſlaus was with the Swediſh army commanded by Craſſaw. This general, finding himſelf incloſed by the Ruſſians and Saxons, croſſed the New Marck and arrived at Stettin, without leave obtained from Frederick I. who was uneaſy to ſee thoſe marches, and ſuch numerous armies in his neighbourhood.

The king took a journey to Konigſberg, where he perſuaded the Czar, who came to meet him, to reſtore the young duke of Courland, nephew of Frederick I. to his dominions, on condition of his marrying the niece of Peter Alexiowitz.

In the ſouth, France made propoſals of peace at the Hague; but the fermentation of minds was ſtill

too

too great, and the expectation of both parties too vague and chimerical, to come to an agreement. If men were capable of reaſon, would they carry on ſuch long, ſuch obſtinate and expenſive wars, to return at laſt to conditions of peace, which ſeemed to them intolerable, only while they were ſwayed by their paſſions, or favoured with fortune's ſmiles ?

The allies opened the campaign with the ſiege of Tournay, and with the battle of Malplaquet, where the prince royal was himſelf in perſon. The count de Finck had a great ſhare in this victory; he was the firſt that forced the French intrenchments with the Pruſſian troops; he formed his men upon the parapet, and from thence he ſupported the Imperial cavalry, who were repulſed three times by the French, till more troops came up and joined him, which determined the fate of the day.

In Pomerania, the Swedes made ſome motions in 1710, as if they wanted to march again into Saxony. The king was apprehenſive, leſt the war ſhould reach at length his own territories; and, to pacify the troubles of the north, he took the right way to encreaſe them, by propoſing an army of neutrality, which was never aſſembled. Craſſaw agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms. As ſoon as Charles XII. heard of it, he proteſted from the extremity of Beſſarabia againſt any neutrality whatſoever. This new treaty was broke, and had the fate of all thoſe public acts, which neceſſity and weakneſs oblige princes to agree to at one time; and power, encouraged by favourable conjunctures, tempts them to break at another.

France renewed the negotiations of peace at Gertrudenberg; and, in the very beginning of the conferences, engaged to acknowledge the royalty of Pruſſia,

ſia, and the ſovereignty of Neufchatel. Nevertheleſs the peace once more miſcarried, and the Pruſſians were employed this campaign under the prince of Anhalt at the ſiege of Aire and Doway, which they took. The king declared at that time, that he would not reſtore the town of Gueldre, where there was a Pruſſian gariſon, till the Spaniards paid him the ſubſidies they owed him. In fact, he was left in poſſeſſion of it at the general peace.

At this time died the duke of Courland, the king's nephew. The Ruſſians made themſelves maſters once more of Courland, and took Elbing; but as the king had pretenſions to this town, it was gariſoned by a Pruſſian battalion.

The paſſage and neighbourhood of ſo many armies had brought the plague into Pruſſia; and the dearth, which now began to be very ſenſibly felt, increaſed the fury and virulence of that contagious diſtemper. The king abandoned thoſe people to their unhappy fate; and, while his revenues and ſubſidies were incapable to ſupport the magnificence of his expences, he coolly ſaw above 200,000 miſerable wretches periſh with hunger, whoſe lives he might have preſerved by a moderate liberality.

The prince royal being ſhocked at this cruelty, and knowing that the counts of Witgenſtein * and Wartemberg were the cauſe of it, uſed every poſſible endeavour to get them removed. The court is ſubjected to ſtorms, and the prince's favour to perils. Witgenſtein was ſent to Spandaw, and the king wept, when he parted with the great chamberlain, for whom he had a great affection. Wartemberg

* He was director of the finances.

berg retired into the Palatinate with a penſion of 20,000 crowns.

Charles XII. as we have already obſerved, had refuſed the neutrality. The Czar, and the kings of Poland and Denmark, laid hold of this pretext to attack him in Pomerania, in 1711. Frederick I. conſtantly refuſed to enter into this alliance, being unwilling to expoſe his territories to the incurſions, ravages, and hazards of war; and beſides, he hoped his neutrality would enable him to reap ſome benefit from the diſturbances of his neighbours.

The beginning of the operations in Pomerania were not favourable to the allies. The Danes raiſed the ſiege of Wiſmar, and Auguſtus thoſe of Stralſund and Stettin.

While Europe thus laboured with convulſions, and the ſeveral contending powers were inflamed with hope and ambition, the emperor Joſeph died. The empire choſe the archduke Charles in his place, who at that time was blocked up in Barcelona, after having been crowned at Madrid, and driven away from thence by the loſs of the battle of Almanza.

The death of the emperor Joſeph paved the way for a general peace. The Engliſh, who were tired of the great expences they had been at, began to reflect on the original intent of the war. In proportion as the clouds of their enthuſiaſm vaniſhed, they perceived that the houſe of Auſtria would be powerful enough, by retaining her hereditary dominions, the kingdom of Naples, the Milaneſe, and Flanders. They determined therefore to hold conferences at Utrecht, in order to eſtabliſh a general peace.

The king being deſirous of terminating the differences relating to the ſucceſſion of Orange by a definitive

finitive treaty, went in perſon to the duchy of Cleves, in order to regulate this affair with the prince of Frieſland. But this unhappy prince was drowned in the paſſage of Mordyk, in his way to the Hague. On the other hand, Frederick I. made another acquiſition, by the extinction of the counts of Mansfeldt. This country was ſequeſtered between Pruſſia and Saxony; the Pruſſian regency was eſtabliſhed at Mansfeldt, and that of Saxony at Eiſleben.

Things drew now inſenſibly towards a peace. The conferences were held at Utrecht in 1712; and the counts of Dohnhoff, Meternich, and Biberſtein repaired thither, as the king's plenipotentiaries.

During the conferences, a revolution happened in England, which Europe attributed to marſhal Tallard, who was then priſoner in that country. Whether it was the effect of the marſhal's policy, or only the work of hazard, my lord Marlborough's party were routed; and the pacific part of the nation prevailed. The duke of Ormond was ſent to command the Britiſh troops in Flanders, where he ſeparated from the allies at the beginning of the campaign. Prince Eugene, tho' weakened by the deſertion of the Engliſh, continued to act offenſively. The Pruſſians, under the prince of Anhalt, were employed in the ſiege of Landrecy. But Villars marched to Denain, where he fell upon my lord Albemarle's camp, and defeated him intirely, before prince Eugene could come up to his aſſiſtance. This victory reſtored Marchienne, Queſnoy, Doway, and Buchain, to the French.

The allies followed the example of the Engliſh, and began to think ſeriouſly of a peace. The emperor was the only prince that would continue the

war; whether the ſlowneſs of his council had not yet had time to come to a determination, or that this prince thought himſelf ſtrong enough to withſtand Lewis XIV. by himſelf. But his affairs only grew worſe.

The king at that time ſurpriſed the Dutch gariſon at Mœurs, and by poſſeſſion maintained his rights to that town.

But the pacific diſpoſitions of the ſouth had no influence on the north. The king of Denmark entered the duchy of Bremen, and took Stade. The Czar, and the king of Poland, attempted a deſcent upon the iſle of Rugen, but were diſappointed by the good diſpoſition made by the Swedes. The allies were not more ſucceſsful in the ſiege of Stralſund, which they were obliged to raiſe; for Steinbock had gained a victory over the Saxons and Danes at Gadebuſch in the duchy of Mecklenburg; and, upon the arrival of a Swediſh reinforcement of 10,000 men in Pomerania, this whole country was left a prey to the enemy. The Danes were obliged to abandon Roſtock, and to reſign this city to the king's troops, as director of the circle of Lower Saxony; but the Swedes drove the Pruſſians from thence. The king's neutrality was no way infringed, and he continued to negotiate, in order to diſpoſe the minds of the contending princes to ſome reconciliation, and to divert the ſtorm that threatned his own dominions.

In the beginning of the year 1713, Frederick I. died of a ſlow diſorder, which had been a long time bringing him to his end. He did not live to ſee the concluſion of the general peace, nor tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in his neighbourhood. He was thrice married; the firſt time to a princeſs of Heſſe, by

by whom he had a daughter, who was married to the hereditary prince of Heſſe, now king of Sweden. His ſecond wife was Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, mother of Frederick-William, who ſucceeded him; and his third wife, who was a princeſs of Mecklenburg, he repudiated for her mad-neſs.

We have ſeen the ſeveral paſſages of the life of Frederick I. We are now only to take a curſory view of his character. His mind was flexible to every kind of impreſſion, like a glaſs that faithfully repreſents the different objects ſet before it. He was violent by caprice, and mild thro' indolence; confounding trifles with grandeur; fond of the ſuperficial, but neglectful of the ſolid; and more buſy in the purſuit of empty ſhew, than of uſeful attainments. He ſacrificed 30,000 of his ſubjects in the emperor's wars to attain to the regal dignity: and he aſpired after this dignity only to indulge his pride, and to juſtify his ſumptuous diſſipations under ſpecious appearances.

He was indeed magnificent and generous; but how baſe the purchaſe, by which he acquired the means of indulging his paſſions! He bartered the blood of his people with the Engliſh and Dutch for money; like the Tartars, who ſell their cattle to the butchers of Podolia for ſlaughter. He was upon the point of recalling 15000 men from Flanders, when the Dutch ſent him a large diamond, as part of the ſucceſſion of the prince of Orange; upon which the troops of Brandenburg were permitted to continue with the allies.

If we aſcend to the origin of things, in order to have a juſt idea of the generoſity of a prince, we ſhall find, that as he is the firſt ſervant of the ſtate, he is accountable to it for the uſe to which he ap-

plies the public money ; that he ought to appropriate a certain part of it to the ſupport of his dignity, and the remainder to reward the ſervices and merit of his ſubjects ; to enrich the ſtate by his liberality ; to maintain the equality of conditions ; not to oppreſs the poor, in order to fatten the rich ; to relieve the public miſeries with generoſity ; to aſſiſt the unfortunate of every kind and condition ; to ſhew magnificence in whatever relates to the general body of the ſtate ; and to direct all his expences to the advantage of his people.

The expence which Frederick I. was ſo fond of, was far from being of this kind ; it was rather the diſſipation of a vain and prodigal prince. His court was one of the moſt magnificent in Europe ; and his embaſſies were as ſplendid as thoſe of the Portugueſe. He granted very large penſions to his favourites. His buildings were magnificent, and his entertainments grand ; his ſtables were filled with horſes, his offices with cooks, and his cellars with wine. He gave a fief of forty thouſand crowns to a huntſman, who helped him to kill a large ſtag. He was very near mortgaging the country of Halberſtadt to the Dutch, to purchaſe the *Pitt*, a large diamond, which was ſold afterwards to Lewis XV. in the time of the regency. His domeſtics were ſure of making their fortune, if they could but bear the firſt tranſports of his paſſion. But there was no proportion in his expences : the abſurdity of his extravagance will appear more evident, if we examine cloſely into the ſtate of his revenues. There we perceive robuſt members of a gigantic body, cloſe to feeble limbs that are periſhing with want. He ſold 20,000 men to maintain 30,000. His court was like to thoſe great

great rivers, which ſwallow up the water of the little rivulets. His favourites were loaded with largeſſes, while the inhabitants of Lithuania and Pruſſia periſhed with famine and peſtilence ; and this generous prince refuſed to relieve them. An avaricious prince is to his people, like a phyſician who lets his patient be ſtifled in his blood : and an extravagant prince is like one that kills him with too much bleeding.

Frederick I. was never conſtant in his favours ; whether it was that he repented his bad choice, or whether he had no indulgence for human infirmities. All his favourites, from baron Danckleman down to count Witgenſtein, had an unhappy end. The bad education, which he had received in his youth, influenced his whole life ; his mind was weak and ſuperſtitious. He was particularly attached to Calviniſm, to which he would willingly have reduced every other religion ; and in all probability he would have been a perſecutor, if prieſts had introduced magnificence and ceremonies into perſecutions. He compoſed a book of common prayer, which for his credit was never printed. If he is deſerving of praiſe, it is for having preſerved peace in his dominions during his whole reign, while the territories of his neighbours were ravaged by war ; for being naturally of a benevolent temper, and for never having violated his conjugal vow. In ſhort, he was great in trifling things, and a trifler in great things ; and it is a diſadvantage to him to be placed in hiſtory between a father and ſon, whoſe ſuperior abilities eclipſe his merit.

FOUR DISSERTATIONS.

DISSERTATION I.

Of manners, cuſtoms, induſtry, and the progreſs of the human underſtanding in the arts and ſciences.

TO have an adequate knowledge of a ſtate, it is not ſufficient to be acquainted with its origin, wars, treaties, government, religion, and revenues. Theſe are indeed the principal parts on which the hiſtorian diſplays the elegance of his ſtyle. But there are are others, which, though not ſo entertaining as the former, are yet entirely as uſeful. Among theſe I reckon whatever relates to the manners of the inhabitants, as the original of new cuſtoms, the aboliſhing of old ones, the riſe of induſtry, the cauſes that firſt encouraged it, the reaſons which accelerated or retarded the progreſs of the human underſtanding; and, above all, whatever chiefly characterizes the genius of the nation whoſe

whoſe hiſtory we undertake to write. Theſe ſubjects will always be intereſting to politicians and philoſophers; and I may venture to affirm, that this ſort of detail is no way unworthy of the majeſty of hiſtory.

I ſhall preſent the reader with a ſpecimen of the moſt diſtinguiſhing ſtrokes of the genius of the Brandenburghers in every age. But how great a difference between thoſe ages? Nations ſeparated by immenſe ſeas, and dwelling under oppoſite tropics, do not differ more in their cuſtoms, than the Brandenburghers from themſelves, if we compare thoſe in the time of Tacitus, to thoſe under Henry the Fowler; thoſe under Henry the Fowler, to thoſe under John the Cicero; and, in fine, the latter to the inhabitants of the electorate under Frederick I. king of Pruſſia.

The generality of mankind, who are amuſed with an infinite variety of objects, look upon the magic lanthorn of this world without reflexion. They take no more notice of the continual changes which happen in regard to cuſtoms, than in a great city, of the daily ravages committed by death, provided it ſpares the ſmall circle of their acquaintance. And yet, after a ſhort abſence, we find at our return different inhabitants and different cuſtoms.

How inſtructive and entertaining it is, to ſurvey paſt ages, and to ſee by what analyſis they are connected to our times! To take a nation in its rudeſt ſtate of ſimplicity, to follow it in its progreſs, and to trace it down to the time in which it was civilized, is the ſame as examining the ſilk-worm in all its metamorphoſes, from its being a chryſalis, till it becomes a butterfly.

But how mortifying is this ſtudy! It is but too certain, that the immutable law of nature obliges mankind to paſs through a great many impertinent trifles, before they can attain to any reaſonable or ſolid acquirement. Thus, if we aſcend to the origin of nations, we ſhall find them all equally barbarous. Some have arrived by ſlow gradations, and by a great many windings, to a certain degree of perfection. Others have reached it by rapid flights; but all have taken different ways. And even politeneſs, induſtry, and the ſeveral arts, have imbibed a taſte of the ſoil, in the different countries into which they have been tranſplanted, from the indelible character of each nation. This will appear ſtill more evident to thoſe who will pleaſe to read the different works written at Padua, London, or Paris; they may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even when the authors of them treat the ſame ſubjects; if we except only the abſtruſe parts of geometry.

The inexhauſtible variety which nature has ſown in theſe general and particular characters, is a proof of her fertility, and at the ſame time of her œconomy. For though the innumerable nations, which cover the face of the earth, have each their different genius; yet it ſeems that ſome remarkable ſtrokes, which diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, are unalterable. Each nation has its peculiar character, which may be modified more or leſs by the education they receive, but whoſe eſſentials are never effaced. I might eaſily confirm this opinion, by proofs drawn from natural philoſophy; but I ſhall not digreſs from my ſubject. It follows therefore, that princes have never intirely changed the manner of thinking peculiar to a nation; that they have never been able to force

force nature to produce thoſe great men, whoſe name alone is capable of rendering ages memorable to poſterity; and though the working of the mine is ſubject to their regulations, yet their power does not extend to the fruitful veins; theſe open themſelves of a ſudden, furniſhing treaſures in abundance, and are often loſt, when purſued with the greateſt avidity.

Whoſoever has read Tacitus and Cæſar, will eaſily diſtinguiſh the Germans, French, and Engliſh, by the colours in which they are painted; and which have not been effaced in the courſe of eighteen centuries. How then is it poſſible, that a ſingle reign ſhould compaſs what ſo many ages have not been able to attain? A ſtatuary may ſhape a piece of ſtone into what form he pleaſes; he may make an Æſop or an Antinous of it, but he cannot change the nature of the ſtone. Every nation will have ſome predominant vices and virtues. If the Romans therefore appear more virtuous under the Antoninus's than the Tiberius's, it is becauſe crimes were more ſeverely puniſhed under the former; vice durſt not lift up its unhallowed head, but the vicious were ſtill in being. Princes may give a certain varniſh of politeneſs to their nation; they may maintain the laws in their full vigour, and the ſciences in a middling condition; but they can never alter the nature of things; they can add only a tranſient ſhadow to the prevailing colour of the picture.

Of this we have ſeen proofs in our days in Ruſſia. Peter I. ordered the Muſcovites to cut off their beards, and to believe in the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt; he made ſome of them dreſs in the French taſte, and inſtituted ſchools for the learning of different lan-

languages; and yet the Ruſſians will be ſtill, perhaps, for many ages diſtinguiſhed from the French, the Italians, and other European nations.

I really believe, that nothing but the intire devaſtation of a country, and the repeopling it with foreign colonies, is capable of producing an intire change in a nation. But we muſt obſerve, that it is then no longger the ſame nation; and it would be ſtill a queſtion, whether the climate and food would not in time aſſimilate the new inhabitants to the old ones.

I thought it neceſſary to ſeparate this fragment, which treats of the Brandenburghers, from the reſt of the hiſtory, becauſe in the former I was confined to politics and war; and if the following particulars which relate to cuſtoms, induſtry and arts, were interſperſed in the body of the work, they might have eaſily eſcaped the reader; whereas he will find them here collected under one point of view, where by themſelves they form a ſmall body of hiſtory.

In the commencement of this work, I have been guided by Latin writers, as there was none of the country during that period. Lockelius, whom I ſhall often have occaſion to quote, has been of ſervice to me in the dark regencies of the margraves of the four firſt races; and the archives have furniſhed me with materials for the moſt remarkable paſſages during the time that the houſe of Hohenzollern has been in poſſeſſion of this electorate, which brings us down to our days.

The First Epocha.

In the long enumeration which Tacitus makes of the people of Germany, he is miſtaken in regard to the

the word *Ingevoner*, which ſignifies inhabitants, and that of *Germenier*, which implies warlike people, whom through ignorance of the language he took for particular nations. The number of thoſe warriors, with which this country was filled, gave it the name of Germany.

The firſt inhabitants of the Marck were Teutons, and after them the Semnons, who, according to the relation of Tacitus, were the nobleſt among the Suevi.

In thoſe remote days Germany was quite barbarous; the natives who were rude and unpoliſhed, lived in foreſts, where they had little huts for their habitations. They married young, and got children faſt, for the women were ſeldom barren. The nation increaſed daily, and as the children confined themſelves to the culture of their paternal eſtates, inſtead of clearing new lands, it followed of courſe, that ſince theſe ſmall inheritances did not, even in the very beſt years, afford a ſufficient maintenance for ſo numerous a people, they were obliged to quit their country to find elſewhere a ſubſiſtence. Hence that great inundation of Barbarians, who overrun Gaul, Africa, and even the Roman empire.

The Germans were huntſmen through neceſſity, and warriors by inclination. Their poverty rendered the inteſtine wars which they had among themſelves very ſhort; for they were not influenced by intereſt. Their generals, who afterwards became princes, were called *Furſten*, which ſignifies leaders. They were famous for the largeneſs of their ſize, the robuſtneſs of their bodies, and for being inured to the moſt laborious exerciſes. Their principal virtues were their valour, and the fidelity with which they fulfilled their engage-

engagements. Theſe virtues they celebrated by hymns, which they taught their children, in order to tranſmit them to poſterity.

Even the Latin writers are unexceptionable witneſſes of the German valour, by acquainting us with the defeat of Varus and ſome of the other chiefs of the Roman armies. If we are apt to commend the courage of a nation, which with equal diſcipline and forces is victorious over another; how much more ought we to admire the bravery of thoſe Germans, who having nothing to rely upon but a confidence in their own valour, and an inflexible reſolution never to yield, triumphed over the Roman diſcipline, and over thoſe legions, who had but juſt compleated the conqueſt of half the known world!

Notwithſtanding what moſt hiſtorians ſay, it is however true, that the Romans paſſed the Elbe in ſpite of the Suevi. For we have diſcovered in the neighbourhood of Zoſſen, within ſix German miles of Berlin, in a ſquare camp of four hundred paces, a vaſt number of urns, filled with the medals of the emperor Antoninus, and of the empreſs Fauſtina, and with dreſſing toys belonging to the Roman ladies. This cannot be a field of battle, for the Suevi would never have buried the ſpoils of their enemies under ground, to decorate their funeral. I think we may ſafely conjecture, that this place ſerved as a camp to ſome of the advanced cohorts, which the Romans had ſent beyond the Elbe, to appriſe them of the motions and approach of the Barbarians.

Brandenburg is the moſt ancient city of the Marck. The annals of this place, printed in 1595, fix the foundation of it in the year of the world 3588, which is about 416 years before the vulgar æra. It is ſaid to

to have been built by Brennus, who ranſacked Rome, and to have taken its name from its founder. Amidſt the obſcurity of thoſe days we have been able to come at the names of ſome of the kings of the Vandals, as Hoterus and Wenceſlaus, who in all probability were more ambitious and troubleſome than the reſt. We find moreover in the annals of this country, that Witikind king of the Saxons, Hermanfred king of Thuringia, and Richimir king of the Franks, entered into an alliance, ſubdued the Semnons, and were the firſt who incloſed the conquered towns with walls, to keep the country in ſubjection.

The Second Epocha.

Charlemain, at length, took Brandenburg in 781; and when Henry the Fowler had, in the year 981, intirely ſubdued the Saxons who inhabited thoſe parts, he eſtabliſhed margraves, or governors of the frontiers.

The manners of the people were civilized under the margraves, but the country was very poor. It produced only the bare neceſſaries of life, but ſtood in need of the induſtry of its neighbours for ſeveral conveniences; and as no other country wanted its aſſiſtance, there was a greater exportation than importation of ſpecie. This diſproportion in the circulation, which continually diminiſhed the value of money, lowered the price of all ſorts of commodities. Proviſions were ſo cheap, that under the elector John II. of Aſcania, a buſhel of wheat was ſold for twenty eight farthings, a buſhel of rie for twenty eight deniers, and ſix hens were bought in the market for one groſs.

The

The married men of Berlin paſſed at that time for honeſt but jealous huſbands The annals of this country * afford an example, which gives us a lively deſcription of the manners of thoſe days. During the regency of the elector Otho of Bavaria, a ſecretary of the biſhop of Magdeburg went to bathe at the public bath at Berlin; where happening to meet in the ſtreet with a young woman, who was a burgher's wife, he propoſed to her in joke to go and bathe with him. The woman was affronted at this propoſal; upon which a crowd of people got about him; and the burghers of Berlin, who underſtood no raillery, dragged the poor ſecretary into a public market place, where they beheaded him without any other form of trial. If theſe people are ſtill jealous, at leaſt their revenge is not ſo unmerciful.

The country was in a moſt miſerable ſituation under the princes of the four firſt races; and indeed it could not be otherwiſe, as it was continually changing maſters. Otho of Bavaria was obliged to ſell the electorate, in 1373, to the emperor Charles IV. The latter reſided at Tangermunde, where he kept a ſplendid court, and built a large caſtle, whoſe ruins are to be ſeen to this day. While Jodocus had the government of the country of Brandenburg, the Vaudois, who were perſecuted in France, took ſhelter in Angermunde, which from thence was called the heretical city. I cannot find the reaſon why the Vaudois ſhould fly for an aſylum to the country of Brandenburg, which was inhabited by catholics; nor why they were received, tho' deteſted.

The princes of the houſe of Luxemburg were the greateſt oppreſſors of the people: they mortgaged the electorate,

* Lockelius in 1364.

electorate, whenever they wanted money, to thoſe who were willing to lend them the greateſt ſums. And thoſe creditors, who looked upon this wretched province as a mortgage, uſed every art of oppreſſion to enrich themſelves, living there at diſcretion, as in an enemy's country. The highways were infeſted with robbers, all civil polity was baniſhed, and the proceedings of the courts of juſtice were ſuperſeded. The lords of Quitzau and Neuendorff, enraged at the odious yoke under which their country groaned, declared open war againſt the petty tyrants who oppreſſed it. During this total confuſion and ſtate of anarchy, the people were in the utmoſt miſery. The nobility were one the while the inſtruments, another time the avengers of tyranny; and the generality of the nation, whoſe ſpirits were depreſſed by the ſeverity of ſlavery, and by the rigour of a barbarous Gothic government, grew quite inſenſible and paralytic.

The Third Epocha.

The emperor Sigiſmund diſimbroiled this chaos in 1414, by conferring the country of Brandenburg and the electoral dignity on Frederick of Hohenzollern, margrave of Neurenberg. This prince required his new ſubjects to yield homage to him; but the people, long accuſtomed to cruel maſters, with difficulty ſubmitted to this mild and legitimate government. Frederick I. reduced the nobility by the terror of a large cannon, with which he beat down the caſtles of the rebels. This cannon was a four and twenty pounder, and was all the artillery he had.

The ſpirit of ſedition was not ſo quickly ſuppreſſed.

ſed. The burghers of Berlin revolted ſeveral times againſt their magiſtrates; and Frederick II. appeaſed theſe commotions with prudence and lenity. This prince was obliged, for want of money, to mortgage the tolls of Schiffelbein and Drambourg to Denis lord of Oſten for the ſum of 1500 florins, to defray his charges to the diet of Nurenberg.

In this ſituation things continued till the time of John the *Cicero*. This elector made the firſt efforts to reſcue his people out of that ſtate of ruſticity and ignorance; and indeed to be only ſenſible of their ignorance was a great matter in thoſe days. Tho' this dawn of knowledge was but a very weak twilight, yet it produced the foundation of the univerſity of Frankfort on the Oder in 1495. Conrad Wipina, profeſſor of Leipſick, was the rector of this new univerſity, and compiled the ſtatutes. A thouſand ſtudents were inrolled the very firſt year in the regiſters of the univerſity.

Lucky it was for the progreſs of the ſciences, that Joachim Neſtor was as much their protector as his father. This prince was the Leo X. of Brandenburg; he was maſter of the mathematics, aſtronomy, and hiſtory; he ſpoke French, Italian and Latin, with eaſe; he was fond of polite learning, and munificent in encouraging thoſe who profeſſed it.

The civilizing of a nation that had been in a ſtate of barbaroufneſs for ſo many ages, could not be the work of a day; it muſt be a long time before the ſoft commerce of ſciences can communicate itſelf to a whole nation. The young people indeed applied themſelves to ſtudy, but thoſe of a more advanced age preſerved ſtill an attchment to their ancient cuſtoms

toms and to their ruſticity. The nobility ſtill continued to rob on the highways. There was ſuch a general depravation of manners in Germany, that the diet of the empire aſſembled at Triers, being willing to put a ſtop to it, forbad people to blaſpheme, and to abandon themſelves to that exceſs of debauchery, which debaſes human nature, and renders men inferior to brutes.

At that time there were vineyards planted in the electorate; a barrel of wine was ſold for thirty groſſes, and a buſhel of rie for twenty one farthings. There was a greater circulation of ſpecies; and Joachim Neſtor erected ſome new buildings, and among others the caſtle of Potzdam. Every body dreſſed after the German faſhion, which anſwers very near to the old Spaniſh dreſs, except that the men wore large ruffs. The princes, * counts and knights, wore gold chains about their necks; and none but gentlemen were permitted to have three gold rings in their cravat. The women's dreſs was like that wore at preſent by the ſex at Augſburg, or by the maidens of Straſburg.

They began then to be acquainted with a kind of luxury proportioned to the times; but as we do not find that there was any improvement made in the induſtry or commerce of the people of Brandenburg, the augmentation and cauſe of the riches of thoſe days are a difficult problem to ſolve.

As early as the year 1560, we find a vaſt difference in the expences of the electors; for when Joachim II. went to the diet of Frankfort, which was ſummoned in 1562, by the emperor Ferdinand, for the election of a king of the Romans, he had ſixty

* Lockelius.

eight gentlemen in his retinue, and an equipage of 452 horſes. Gaming was introduced at that time; this cuſtom ſhifted from the court to the town; but they were obliged to ſuppreſs it, becauſe ſome burghers had loſt above a thouſand crowns at a ſitting.

We read in our annals, that at the marriage of Joachim II. to Sophia daughter of Sigiſmund king of Poland, the elector lay the firſt night of his nuptials armed cap-a-pee with his young wife; as if the ſoft engagements of love required ſuch formidable preparations. There was a mixture of ferocity and magnificence in the cuſtoms of thoſe days. The cauſe of this ſingularity was the deſire the nation had to emerge from its barbarouſneſs; it ſought for the right road, but miſſed it. They were ſo ſtupid as to confound ceremonies with politeneſs, magnificence with dignity, debauchery with pleaſure, pedantry with learning, and the clowniſh flatneſs of buffoons with the ingenious ſallies of wit.

To this time we muſt refer the foundation of the univerſity of Konigſberg by Albert duke of Pruſſia.

The expences of the electors ſtill continued to increaſe. John George made a ſuperb interment for his father; this is the firſt funeral pomp of any kind of magnificence that we meet with in the hiſtory of Brandenburg. The predominant paſſion of this prince was his fondneſs of entertainments; he loved to diſplay his grandeur. He celebrated the birth * of his eldeſt ſon with entertainments that laſted four days. Theſe diverſions conſiſted of tournaments, naval combats, fireworks, and running at the ring. The lords who compoſed the four troops, were dreſſed in velvet richly imbroidered with gold and ſilver; but ſtill the character

* Lockelius.

character of the age was diſcernible thro' this magnificence. At the head of each troop there was a buffoon, who ſounded a horn in a ridiculous manner, and committed a thouſand extravagances, while the court mounted the turret of the caſtle to ſee the fire-works go off †. When Chriſtian king of Denmark came through Berlin, the elector received him in a magnificent manner; he went out to meet him, attended with a great number of princes, counts, and lords, and with a guard of 300 horſe. The king made his entry in a black velvet chariot laced with gold, drawn by eight white courſers, with bits and capariſons all of ſilver. They quite tired him with entertainments, all in this taſte.

Luxury, perhaps, was carried to exceſs; for Joachim enacted ſumptuary laws. He employed his revenues in uſeful eſtabliſhments, and founded Joachim's college, which was afterwards removed to Berlin by the elector Frederick-William, where ſtill continues this ſchool, the moſt flouriſhing, without doubt, and the beſt regulated in all the territories of Pruſſia.

Under the adminiſtration of John George, a great many inventions were ſtill wanting, that contribute to the conveniency of life. The common cuſtom of coaches goes no higher than John Sigiſmund; in whoſe reign mention is made of it, on account of the homage which this prince yielded at Warſaw for the duchy of Pruſſia. He had thirty ſix coaches, each ſix horſes in his train, beſides fourſcore led horſes. The embaſſador, whom he ſent to the diet of the empire at the election of the emperor Matthias, had three coaches. Theſe were a kind of ugly travelling ve-

 hicles

† The annals mention, that the elector put his head out of a dormer-window, and cried out to the ingineer: *John, ſet fire as ſoon as I have whiſtled.*

hicles, made of four boards, which were put together in a very clumsy manner. Who could have then foretold, that this art would been carried to so high a degree of perfection in the eighteenth century, as to make coaches that come to 20000 crowns, and that they should find purchasers ?

The efforts made by Brandenburg and Germany to civilize themselves, were not quite useless. The number of universities increased, among which was that of Halle. At the same time an academy was formed at Dessaw for the improvement of the German tongue, under the name of the *fruitful society*. This might have been of some service; especially as the German language branched out into an infinite number of dialects, wants proper rules to fix its true standard; besides, we have no classic writers; and if we have still some remains of our ancient republican liberty, 'tis only the barren privilege of mangling a rude and almost barbarous language according to our pleasure and fancy.

These excellent institutions, which perhaps would have greatly contributed to the advancement of learning, were hardly sketched, when the thirty years war supervened, which overturned and destroyed all Germany.

The states of Brandenburg had a share in the government till the reign of George-William, viz. 1621 ; they were consulted on all public affairs, and their advice was followed. When the war drew near to the electorate, they began to think of its defence. 'Till that time the elector kept only his own guards, and when he wanted to raise troops, the nobility were summoned, who were obliged to appear, and with their paramounts formed the cavalry; the infantry

fantry consisted of their vassals. The elector *, and especially his minister count Schwartzenberg, were inclined to maintain a regular militia. The states consented to levy soldiers ; and after the men were picked out, they were ordered to beg about the country for their subsistence, till there should be occasion for their service. At the same time an edict was published, ordering the country people to give a farthing a piece to this militia if they came to beg, and to beat them soundly if they were not satisfied. Thus this elector, instead of having disciplin'd troops, had only privileged beggars.

The count of Schwartzenberg reduced afterwards the power of these states, tho' they had never abused it. In short, in the course of this bloody war, the year 1636 was the most unfortunate for this electorate : the Swedes were at Werben, the Imperialists at Magdeburg and Rathenaw, Wrangle at Stettin, and Morosini in the New Marck, when thirty six thousand Imperialists marched through the country, pillaging and destroying every place they came to. This was too much : the country of Brandenburg, exhausted by the number of troops whom it had maintained, and who had ravaged it for some years, could stand it no longer. Provisions were become extremely dear, an ox was sold for a hundred crowns, a bushel of wheat for five, a bushel of barley for three; and the scarcity of specie raised the value of it to such a degree, that a ducat was rated at ten crowns. Some gentlemen who had secured their provisions from the rapaciousness of the enemy, wanted to reap an advantage from the circumstances of this dearth ; but the country people, not having wherewithal to purchase this grain, and grown desperate

 by

* Sebaldus's chronicle.

by the famine, fell upon thoſe inhumane maſters, and plundered their granaries. The famine continued with the ſame violence, and was followed by the plague, which completed the miſery of the country. The remainder of the unfortunate inhabitants, whom death and the enemy had ſpared, being unable to withſtand ſuch a ſea of calamities, abandoned their unhappy country, and fled for refuge to the neighbouring provinces.

The Marck was then one frightful deſert, which exhibited a lamentable ſpectacle of ruins, conflagrations, and of every ſcene of calamity that attends a long and furious war. Hardly was it poſſible, amidſt ſuch a horrid ſcene of confuſion, and in places intirely laid waſte, to diſcern the traces of the ancient inhabitants.

There would have been an end of Brandenburg for ever, if Frederick-William, who began to reign in 1640, had not taken ſuch immenſe pains to retrieve it. His prudence and reſolution, together with time, overcame all thoſe obſtacles; he concluded a peace, and immediately ſet about a new creation.

Brandenburg, in fact, became a new country, formed of a mixture of all nations, who afterwards intermarried with thoſe few of the ancient inhabitants, that had eſcaped deſtruction; whether it was owing to a plentiful year, or for want of conſumption, the price of proviſions fell ſo low, that a buſhel of wheat was ſold for twelve groſſes.

Among the other miſchiefs occaſioned by thirty years war, we may reckon the ruin of the little trade than carried on in north of Germany. Formerly we had our ſalt from Holland and France; but as the ſtock could not be ſupplied during thoſe troubles, it was

was ſoon exhauſted. The want of ſo neceſſary a commodity obliged people to have recourſe to induſtry; and they diſcovered ſalt-pits at Halle, which were ſufficient to ſupply not only the wants of Brandenburg, but likewiſe of the neighbouring provinces.

The firſt colony that came to ſettle in the electorate were Dutch. Theſe revived the ſeveral handy-craft trades, and formed a project for ſelling timber, with which the country abounded; for the thirty years had turned almoſt all the ſoil into a foreſt. The ſale of this timber conſtituted afterwards one of the principal branches of our commerce. The elector gave leave to ſome Jewiſh families to ſettle in his dominions; the neighbourhood of Poland rendering them very uſeful for vending in that kingdom the refuſe of our fripery.

Not long after a favourable event enſued, which conſiderably promoted the deſigns of the great elector. Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nants in 1684, upon which occaſion at leaſt 300,000 French quitted the kingdom. Thoſe who had moſt money retired to England and Holland; but the moſt induſtrious part of them, to the number of twenty thouſand, or thereabouts, took ſhelter in the country of Brandenburg. Theſe helped to re-people our deſert villages, and brought all ſorts of manufactures amongſt us, which we wanted.

In order to judge of the advantages which the government received from this colony, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the ſtate of our manufactures before the thirty years war, and of the perfection they arrived to after the revocation of the edict of Nants.

Our commerce conſiſted formerly in the ſale of

our corn, wine, and wool; there were ſome woollen manufactures, but they were very inconſiderable. At the time of John Cicero there were only 700 manufacturers in the whole country. During the adminiſtration of John Joachim, the duke of Alva exerciſed his tyrannical cruelty over the inhabitants of the Low countries. That wiſe princeſs, Elizabeth queen of England, made a proper uſe of the folly of her neighbours, by inviting the manufacturers of Gant and Bruges into her dominions. Theſe people manufactured the Engliſh wool, and obtained a law to prohibit the exportation of it.

Our manufacturers till that time had made no good cloth, without a mixture of Engliſh wool; and, as ſoon as this was with-held, the manufacture declined. The electors of Saxony, Auguſtus and Chriſtian, followed queen Elizabeth's example, by inviting the Flemiſh artiſts to their country, who put their manufactures in a flouriſhing condition. The want of foreign wool, the decline of our manufactures, and the riſe of thoſe of our neighbours, induced the nobility of Brandenburg to ſell their wool to ſtrangers; which was very near being the utter ruin of our manufactures. In order to remedy this evil, John Sigiſmund prohibited the importation of foreign cloths into the country; but this prohibition was ridiculous, becauſe the manufactures of Brandenburg were inſufficient to furniſh as much cloth as the country wanted, which obliged them to have recourſe to the induſtry of their neighbours. Very likely more lucky expedients would have been found out, if the thirty years war had not broke out ſoon after, which overturned all projects and manufactures, and even the ſtate itſelf.

At the acceſſion of Frederick-William to the regency,

gency, there was no manufacture in this country, either of hats, ſtockings, ſerges, or any kind of woollen ſtuffs. We are indebted to the induſtry of the French for all theſe manufactures: they erected fabricks of cloths, ſerges, ſtuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, woven ſtockings, all ſorts of hats, and dying in different colours. Some of thoſe refugees turned ſhopkeepers, and retailed the ſeveral wares that were fabricated by their countrymen. Berlin now had goldſmiths, jewellers, watchmakers, and carvers. The French, who ſettled in the open country, planted tobacco; and variety of fruits, and excellent pulſe, were ſeen to grow in a ſandy ſoil, which, by their careful cultivation, was become an admirable kitchen-garden. To encourage ſo uſeful a colony, the great elector allowed them a yearly penſion of forty thouſand crowns, which they enjoy to this day.

Thus the electorate was in a more flouriſhing condition under the adminiſtration of Frederick-William than it had been under any of his anceſtors. The great improvement of the manufactures increaſed the different branches of commerce, which was afterwards confined chiefly to our corn, timber, woollen manufactures, and ſalt. The uſe of poſt-houſes, hitherto unknown in Germany, was introduced by the great elector throughout all his dominions, from Emmerick as far as Memel. The cities, before that time, paid arbitrary taxes, which were ſuppreſſed, and an exciſe was ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The towns began to be civilized, the ſtreets were paved, and lanthorns were ſet up at proper diſtances to light the inhabitants. This civil regulation was abſolutely neceſſary; for the courtiers were obliged to go in ſtilts to Potzdam,

dam, when the court happened to reſide there, becauſe of the dirt that lay in heaps in the ſtreets.

Frederick-William was the firſt elector that kept a regular body of diſciplined troops in his ſervice. The battalions of foot conſiſted of four companies, each of 150 men; the third part of a battalion were armed with pikes, the reſt with muſkets. The infantry wore their regimentals, and had cloaks. The horſe provided themſelves with arms and horſes. They wore a half armour, fought in ſquadrons, and often carried a train of artillery along with them.

The great elector, though generous and magnificent in his own perſon, eſtabliſhed ſumptuary laws. The court was numerous and ſplendid. At the entertainment which he gave at the marriage of his niece, the princeſs of Courland, there were fifty-ſix tables, with forty covers at each repaſt. The indefatigable activity of this prince procured every uſeful art to his country; but he had not time to introduce the polite ones.

The continual wars, together with the mixture of new inhabitants, had already made a change in the antient manners. A great many of the French and Dutch cuſtoms were adopted by our people: but the predominant vices were drunkenneſs and avarice. The youth were forbidden all unlawful commerce with the fair ſex; and ſome ſmarting remembrances, which are contracted by dying away with pleaſure, were unknown at that time. The court was fond of points, double meanings, and buffoonries: the children of the nobility applied themſelves again to ſtudy, and the education of youth fell inſenſibly into the hands of the French. We are indebted alſo to this nation for a certain freedom in converſation, and for an eaſier

eaſier carriage than is commonly met with in the Germans.

The change which ſupervened in the ſtate after the thirty years war was univerſal; it was felt in the ſpecie, as well as in every thing elſe. Formerly the ſilver mark was on the footing of nine crowns throughout all the empire, till the year 1561, when the calamity of the times obliged the elector to have recourſe to all manner of expedients to ſupply the neceſſities of the ſtate. He publiſhed, the ſame year, an edict, which regulated the value of the current ſpecie; and he ordered groſſes and fenins to be coined to a conſiderable ſum, whoſe intrinſic value was very near equivalent to the third part of the real value of this ſpecie. As the value of this money was imaginary, it was ſoon cried down, and fell one half. The old crowns of good allay were worth from twenty-eight to thirty groſſes, for which reaſon we call them bank crowns. In order to remedy theſe abuſes, the electors of Brandenburg had a conference at Cinna in 1667; and they agreed to fix the value of ſpecie upon a new footing, by which the fine ſilver mark was to be returned to the public in all kinds of money, from the crown to the fenin, at ten crowns ſixteen groſſes. After this we ſtruck florins, and half florins; and the value of the ſilver mark continued fixed to ten crowns.

In the year 1690, Frederick I. agreed with the elector of Saxony and the duke of Hanover on proper meaſures for keeping up the value of ſpecie, on the ſame footing as was determined at the convention of Cinna; but finding this impracticable, they conſented that the current ſpecie of florins, and pieces of eight groſſes, ſhould be ſtruck through all their dominions

dominions at the proportion of twelve crowns. This is what we call the footing of Leipſick, which ſtill ſubſiſts.

The new colonies eſtabliſhed by the great elector, did not indeed arrive to their full perfection till the reign of Frederick I. We had then a manufacture of tapeſtry equal to that of Bruſſels, our laces were not inferior to thoſe of France, our glaſſes of Newſtadt ſurpaſſed thoſe of Venice in whiteneſs, and our army was dreſſed in cloth of our own manufactures. In the year 1700 the troops changed their arms; the uſe of pikes was aboliſhed, and the infantry had fuſils given them; the cavalry kept no other part of their armour than the cuiraſs, and they were obliged to wear regimentals.

The court was numerous and ſplendid; and there was a great circulation of ſpecie, ariſing from foreign ſubſidies. Luxury began now to ſhew itſelf in liveries, dreſs, tables, equipage, and buildings. The king had two of the moſt able architects in Europe in his ſervice; beſides Schluter, who was no way inferior to them in merit, and whoſe fine carvings heightened the beauty of their architecture. Bott made the fine gate of Weſel, and gave the deſigns of the palace and of the arſenal of Berlin. He built likewiſe the poſt-houſe, at the corner of the great bridge, and the beautiful portico of the caſtle of Potzdam, whoſe merit is well known to the lovers of architecture. Loſander built the new wing of the palace of Konigſberg, and the mint, which was afterwards pulled down. Schluter decorated the arſenal with thoſe trophies which are ſo greatly admired by connoiſſeurs; and it was he that caſt the equeſtrian ſtatue of the great elector, which paſſes for a maſterpiece.

piece. The king embelliſhed the city of Berlin with the church of the cloyſter, with arches, and ſome other edifices. He adorned alſo the pleaſure-houſes of Orangebourg, Potzdam and Charlottenburg, with all manner of improvements and decorations.

The polite arts, which are generally the fruits of abundance, began now to flouriſh. The academy of painting was founded, of which Peſne, Mayer, Widdeman and Leigeber, were the firſt profeſſors. However, we have not had one painter of reputation from their ſchool. But the moſt remarkable event, and that which more nearly relates to the progreſs of the human underſtanding, was the foundation of the royal academy of ſciences in 1700. The queen Sophia-Charlotte contributed chiefly to this eſtabliſhment. This princeſs had a great genius, with a large ſhare of learning: ſhe did not think it beneath the dignity of a queen to ſhew her regard for a philoſopher. It is plain that the philoſopher I am ſpeaking of was Leibnitz: and as thoſe whom heaven has favoured with a particular dignity of mind are capable of raiſing themſelves upon a level with ſovereigns, ſhe entered into an intimate acquaintance with Leibnitz, and propoſed him as the only perſon capable of laying the foundation of this new academy. Leibnitz, who, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, had more than one ſoul, was worthy of preſiding in an academy, which, in caſe of need, he alone might have repreſented. He eſtabliſhed four claſſes, one for natural philoſophy and phyſic, the ſecond for the mathematics, the third for the language and antiquities of Germany, and the laſt for the oriental languages and antiquities. The moſt celebrated members of our academy were Meſſrs Baſnage, Bernouilli, La Croze, Guillelmini, Hartzoker, Herman, Kirch,

Kirch, Romer, Sturmer, Varignon, des Vignoles, Werenfels and Wolff. After them appeared Meſſrs de Beauſobre and Lenfant, whoſe pens would have done honour to the ages of Auguſtus and Lewis XIV.

Otho of Guericke flouriſhed alſo at Magdeburg: it is to him we are indebted for the invention of the air-pump; and luckily he has rendered his philoſophical and fruitful genius hereditary to his deſcendants.

The univerſities were in a flouriſhing condition at the ſame time: Halle and Franckfort were provided with learned profeſſors. Thomaſius, Gundling, Ludewig, Wolff and Strick, were in the firſt rank of fame, and had a vaſt number of pupils. Wolff wrote a comment on Leibnitz's ingenious ſyſtem of the Monades, and drowned a few problems which Leibnitz had thrown out as a bait to the metaphyſicians in a deluge of words, arguments, corollaries and citations. The profeſſor of Halle took an immenſe deal of pains to write a large number of volumes, which inſtead of being adapted to the inſtruction of adult people, ſerved only as a dialectic catechiſm for children. The Monades ſet the metaphyſicians and geometricians of Germany at variance, and they ſtill go on diſputing on the diviſibility of matter.

The king founded at the ſame time an academy at Berlin for young men of family, on the ſame plan as that of Luneville; but, unhappily for our country, it did not laſt long.

This century produced not one good hiſtorian. Teſſier was employed to write the hiſtory of Brandenburg, and inſtead of a hiſtory he wrote a panegyric. Puffendorff wrote the life of Frederick-William; and being determined to omit no circumſtance at all, he forgot neither his clerks of the chancery nor his valets

lets de chambre. But our authors, I think, are generally found fault with for making no diſtinction between things that are eſſential, and ſuch as are only circumſtantial; for leaving facts in obſcurity, while they pretend to diſembroil them; and for not ſhortening their trailing proſe, which is exceſſively ſubject to tranſpoſitions and numerous epithets.

In this great ſcarcity of proſe writers, Brandenburg had one good poet. This was Monſ. de Canitz, who made an excellent tranſlation of ſome of Boileau's epiſtles, and publiſhed verſes in imitation of Horace, with ſome original pieces. Canitz is the Pope of Germany, the moſt elegant, the moſt correct, and the leaſt diffuſed poet that ever wrote in our language. In Germany even the poets are generally infected with pedantry; the language of the gods is proſtituted by the mouth of ſome regent of a paltry college, or by a debauched ſtudent; and thoſe whom we call gentlemen, are either too lazy, or too proud, to touch Horace's lyre, or Virgil's trumpet. M. de Canitz, though of a very good family, did not think that wit and poetical merit were any derogation to his birth. He cultivated this talent, as we have already obſerved, with great ſucceſs. He had an employment at court; and, from converſing with good company, he learned that politeneſs and amenity, which are ſo pleaſing in his ſtyle.

The German theatre was worth little notice; what they call tragedy is a monſtrous mixture of bombaſt and buffoonry. The dramatic writers were unacquainted even with the common rules of the theatre; and their comedy was ſtill more wretched. It was a kind of low farce, contrary to all taſte, politeneſs and

and morality. The queen maintained an Italian opera, the compoſer of which was the famous Bononcini: from that time we have had good muſicians. There was a company of French players at court, by whom the admirable compoſitions of the Molieres, the Corneilles, and the Racines, were frequently repreſented. The taſte of the French theatre made its way into Germany, together with the faſhions of that nation. Europe being ſtruck with the character of grandeur which Lewis XIV. diſplayed in all his actions, with the politeneſs which reigned in his court, and with the great men who were an ornament to his reign, wanted to imitate France, as well as to admire her. People from all parts of Germany viſited this country; and a young gentlemen was taken for a fool, if he had not been ſome time at the court of Verſailles. The French taſte regulated our kitchens, our furniture, our dreſs, and every other kind of trifle which is ſubject to the tyrannical ſway of faſhion. This paſſion, carried to exceſs, degenerated into phrenzy; the women, who often run upon extremes, puſhed it to a degree of extravagance *. The

* The mother of Canitz the poet, having exhauſted all the new faſhions of France, in order to outdo the ladies of Berlin, commiſſioned a merchant to bring her a husband from France, who ſhould be young, handſome, robuſt, polite, witty, and of a good family, imagining that this kind of merchandice was as common as womens dreſſing toys in a ſhop. The merchant, who was quite unpractiſed in this kind of trade, executed his commiſſion as well as he could. At length his correſpondents found out a perſon whom they thought fit for his purpoſe; this was a man of fifty years of age, his name was M. de Brinboc, of a weak conſtitution, and very ſickly. He came to Berlin; madam de Canitz ſaw him, was ſtartled, and married him. It was lucky for the Pruſſians, that this marriage turned out to the diſſatisfaction of the lady, otherwiſe her example

The court did not give into the foreign modes ſo much as the town; their time was taken up with the decorations of magnificence and ceremony, which were carried to the greateſt exceſs. The king inſtituted the order of the black eagle, as well to have ſuch a thing as an order, like every other king, as to give himſelf, upon this occaſion, the pleaſure of a feſtival, which greatly reſembled a maſquerade. This prince, who had erected an academy out of compliſance to his wife, maintained buffoons to pleaſe himſelf. The court of the queen, Sophia-Charlotte, was quite ſeparate from his. It was a temple, in which the ſacred fire of the veſtals was preſerved; it was the aſylum of learning, and the ſeat of politeneſs. This virtuous princeſs was ſo much the more regretted, as the * lady who ſucceeded her, gave herſelf up intirely to the direction of bigots, and ſpent her days with hypocrites; a wretched race, who even bring virtue into diſrepute, by ſanctifying vice under a virtuous appearance. At length the adepts appeared at court; and an Italian, whoſe name was Cataneo, aſſured the king, that he had the ſecret of making gold. This fellow ſpent a great deal of this metal, but made none; and the king was revenged for his credulity upon the wretch; for he ordered him to be hanged.

The ſtate underwent almoſt an intire change, as to its outward form, under Frederick-William, in 1713. Numbers of courtiers were diſmiſſed, and

 the

example would have been followed. Our beauties would all have fallen into the hands of Frenchmen, and thoſe of our ſex at Berlin would have been obliged, like the Romans, to carry off the Sabine women from the neighbourhood

* The princeſs of Mecklenburg, who afterwards fell mad,

the great penſions were reduced. Many, who had kept their coaches, now walked on foot, which made people ſay, That the king had reſtored the lame to the uſe of their limbs. Under Frederick I. Berlin was the Athens of the north; under Frederick-William, it was become the Sparta. It was now a military government; the army was increaſed; and, in the heat of the firſt levies, ſome artizans were preſſed into the ſervice, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into a great many others, that they ſaved themſelves by flight. This unforeſeen accident did a vaſt deal of harm to our manufactures.

The king ſoon remedied theſe abuſes, and applied himſelf, with a particular attention, to the re-eſtabliſhment and progreſs of induſtry. He publiſhed a ſevere edict, prohibiting the exportation of our wool; and he built the Lagerhaus in 1714, which is a kind of warehouſe, from whence wool is delivered out to poor manufacturers, which they pay for after they have woven it. Our cloths found a ſure ſale from the conſumption made by the army, which was new clothed every year. This conſumption extended afterwards to foreigners; for a Ruſſian company was eſtabliſhed in 1725, and our merchants furniſhed cloth for the whole Ruſſian army. But the Engliſh ſent their guineas into Muſcovy, which were ſoon followed by their cloth; ſo that there was an end of that trade. Our manufactures, indeed, ſuffered by this in the beginning, but we ſoon found other markets. The manufacturers had not wool enough of their own, and the people of Mecklenburg were permitted to ſell us theirs. Thus, as early as 1733, our manufactures were in ſo flouriſhing a condition, that

that we exported 44,000 pieces of cloth, of 24 yards each.

Berlin was like the magazine of Mars. Every artiſt, that can be employed in the ſervice of an army, was ſure to thrive, and their ware was ſought for all over Germany. At Berlin we ſet up powder-mills, at Spandaw ſword-cutlers, at Potzdam gun-ſmiths, and at Neuſtadt tradeſmen, who worked in iron and copper.

The king granted privileges and rewards to thoſe who would undertake to build in any part of his dominions. He added the ward of Frederick-ſtadt to his capital, and filled that part with houſes, which had been covered before with the old ramparts. He founded, as it were, and peopled †, the town of Potzdam; and, all this while, he did not erect the leaſt building for himſelf, but every thing for his ſubjects. The architecture of his reign is generally infected with the Dutch taſte; and we could have wiſhed, that the great ſums which this prince laid out in buildings, had been directed by abler architects. He had the fate of all founders of cities, who are generally taken up with the ſolidity of their deſigns, and neglect what, with the ſame expence, might add to their embelliſhment.

After Berlin was inlarged, it was ſubjected to a new civil regulation in 1734, upon the ſame footing, very near, as that of Paris. Officers of the police were eſtabliſhed almoſt in every ward of the town; hackney coaches were ſet up at the ſame time; the city was diſincumbered of thoſe lazy wretches, who

† At that time there were hardly four hundred inhabitants in the town, whereas, at preſent, there are upwards of twenty thouſand.

get their bread by importunity; and thoſe unhappy objects of our diſlike and compaſſion, to whom nature has been a kind of a ſtep-mother, found an aſylum in the public hoſpitals.

While all theſe changes were making, luxury, magnificence, and pleaſures diſappeared; the ſpirit of œconomy was introduced among people of all conditions, the rich as well as the poor. Under the preceding reigns, a great many of the nobility ſold their lands to buy laced clothes; but now this abuſe was put an end to. In moſt of the Pruſſian dominions, the gentlemen ought to be very good œconomiſts, to be able to maintain their families, becauſe there is no ſuch thing among them as the right of primogeniture. And as the fathers of families may have many children to ſettle in the world, œconomy alone can enable them to make a decent proviſion for thoſe, who, after their deceaſe, will divide their family into different branches.

This diminution of public expence did not hinder a great many artiſans from perfecting themſelves in their ſeveral trades. Our coaches, gold laces, velvets, and goldſmiths ware, were ſpread all over Germany.

But the miſchief was, that while ſuch uſeful and excellent regulations were making in the manufactures, there was a total decline in the academy of ſciences, the univerſities, the liberal arts, and commerce.

The places that became vacant in the academy, were filled without any manner of judgment. And the public, through a ſingular depravation of taſte, affected a contempt for a ſociety of ſo illuſtrious an original, whoſe labours tended as much to the honour

nour of the nation, as to the improvement of the human underſtanding. While this whole body was fallen into a lethargy, medicine and chymiſtry maintained their ground. Pott, Margraff, and Eller, compounded and diſſolved matter, improving the world with their diſcoveries; and the anatomiſts obtained a hall for their public diſſections, which became an excellent ſchool of chirurgery.

The profeſſorſhips in the univerſities were filled by favour and intrigue. The bigots, who put their noſes every where, obtained a ſhare in the direction of the univerſities, where they raiſed a perſecution againſt good ſenſe, eſpecially in philoſophy. Wolfius was baniſhed for giving an admirable chain of the proofs of the exiſtence of a God. The young nobility, who were deſigned for the army, thought it a debaſement to apply themſelves to ſtudy; and as the human mind generally runs into extremes, they looked upon ignorance as a title of merit, and learning as ridiculous pedantry.

The ſame cauſe made the liberal arts decline. The academy of painting was now no more. Peſne, who had been the director of it, left off hiſtory-painting to apply himſelf to portraits; joiners turned ſculptors, and maſons architects. A chymiſt, whoſe name was Bottcher, went from Berlin to Dreſden, and gave the king of Poland the ſecret for a kind of porcellane, which ſurpaſſes that of China, both for the elegance of the figures, and the fineneſs of the diapering.

Our commerce was not yet ſet on foot; the government checked it, by following principles directly oppoſite to its progreſs. But we muſt not conclude, from thence, that the nation wanted a genius

for trade. The Venetians and the Genoeſe were the firſt who applied themſelves to it; the diſcovery of the compaſs transferred it to the Portugueſe and Spaniards; it ſhifted afterwards to England and Holland; the French followed it the laſt, but ſoon recovered by their diligence what they had neglected through ignorance. If the inhabitants of Dantzick, Hamburg, and Lubeck, as well as the Danes, and the Swedes, enrich themſelves every day by navigation, why ſhould not the Pruſſians do the ſame? All men become quick-ſighted when the road to fortune is opened to them; but they muſt be animated by example, excited by emulation, and encouraged by the ſovereign. The French have been ſlow, and we are ſo at preſent; perhaps our hour is not yet come.

People were leſs attentive at that time to the increaſe of commerce, than to the reduction of uſeleſs expences. Mournings had been formerly deſtructive to families. They uſed to give entertainments at burials, and even the funeral pomp was expenſive. All thoſe cuſtoms were aboliſhed: neither houſes nor chariots were hung with black, nor did they even ſo much as give black liveries; ſo that ever ſince that time people have died cheap.

This military government influenced the manners of the inhabitants, and even regulated their faſhions. The public affected to aſſume a ſoure air; through all the Pruſſian territories no one had above three yards of cloth in his coat, or leſs than two yards of a ſword hanging by his ſide. The women ſhunned the company of men, and the men took their revenge of them by drinking, ſmoaking, and buffoonry. In ſhort, our manners had no longer any reſemblance either

either to thoſe of our anceſtors or of our neighbours: we were originals, and had the honour of being wretchedly copied by ſome of the petty princes of Germany.

Towards the latter end of this reign, there happened to come to Berlin *, a man of an unlucky turn of mind, of obſcure birth, but extremely cunning. He was a kind of an adept, that made gold for the ſovereign at the expence of his ſubjects. His artifices ſucceeded for a while; but as knavery is generally diſcovered one time or other, his legerdemain was found out, and his wretched ſcience returned into the obſcurity from whence it came.

Such were the manners of Brandenburg under all its different governments. The genius of the nation lay concealed during a long ſeries of barbarous ages: it raiſed its head from time to time; but ſoon ſunk under the weight of ignorance and bad taſte; and when ſome lucky circumſtances ſeemed to favour its progreſs, a war broke out, whoſe unhappy conſequences deſtroyed the ſtate. We have ſeen this ſtate riſe out of its aſhes; we have ſeen by what new efforts the nation was civilized; and if this great fire has thrown out only a few ſparkles, a ſmall matter is wanting to make it blaze. As ſeeds require a particular ſoil to ſpread and unfold themſelves; in like manner, nations have need of a concurrence of lucky circumſtances to raiſe them out of their lethargy, and to give them, as it were, a new life.

All governments have had a particular ſeries of events to run through, before they have been able to arrive at their higheſt degree of perfection. Monarchies arrive at it by ſlower degrees than republics, nor

* Eckert.

nor do they preſerve it ſo long; and if it be true that the moſt perfect form of government is that of a kingdom well adminiſtred, it is no leſs true, that republics attain ſooner to the end propoſed by their inſtitution, and preſerve themſelves in it longer, becauſe good kings are ſubject to death, but wiſe laws are immortal.

Sparta and Rome, cities deſigned for military atchievements, produced, one the invincible phalanx, and the other thoſe legions which ſubdued half the known world. Sparta gave birth to the moſt famous generals, and Rome became a nurſery of heroes. Athens, having had more pacific laws from Solon, was the ſeminary of arts. To what a degree of perfection did not her poets, orators, and hiſtorians arrive? This aſylum of the ſciences was preſerved till the intire ruin of Attica. The foundation of the republics of Carthage, Venice, and Holland, was connected with commerce; this they conſtantly purſued and maintained, as the principle of their grandeur, and the ſupport of their ſtate.

Let us continue this enquiry a little longer. To touch the fundamental laws of the republic, is intirely ſubverting them, becauſe the wiſdom of the legiſlators has formed a whole, with which the different parts of the government are eſſentially connected To reject ſome, is deſtroying the reſt, by a concatenation of conſequences which unites them together, and forms a regular and compleat ſyſtem.

In monarchies, the form of government has no other baſis than the abſolute will of a ſovereign: the laws the army, trade induſtry, and every other part of the ſtate, are ſubject to the caprice of a ſingle man, whoſe ſucceſſors hardly ever reſemble each other. Hence it generally follows, that at the acceſ-

ſion of a new prince, the ſtate is governed by new principles; and this is what hurts this form of government. There is a proportion between the end propoſed by republics, and the means they uſe to attain it, which is the reaſon that they hardly ever miſs it. In monarchies, a lazy prince ſucceeds an ambitious one; after him comes a bigot; after him a warrior; after him a ſcholar; after him an epicure or a debauchee: and while this moveable ſtage of fortune exhibits inceſſantly new ſcenes, the genius of the nation, diverted by a variety of objects, has not time to fix itſelf. It is neceſſary, therefore, in monarchies, that thoſe inſtitutions which are to bid defiance to the viciſſitude of time, ſhould be ſo deeply rooted as to be incapable of being deſtroyed, without ſhaking, at the ſame time, the foundation of the throne.

But frailty and inſtability are inſeparably connected with the works of man. The revolutions of monarchies and republics have their origin in the immutable laws of nature. It is neceſſary that the human paſſions ſhould ſerve as ſprings for the continual ſhifting of new decorations, which the audacious fury of ſome carries off, and the weakneſs of others is incapable of defending; that unbridled ambition ſhould ſubvert republics, and that artifice ſhould triumph ſometimes over ſimplicity. Were it not for thoſe great ſhocks we are ſpeaking of, the univerſe would continue always the ſame, and there would be no equality in the fate of nations. Some would be always civilized and happy, and others always barbarous and unfortunate.

We have ſeen monarchies riſe and fall, and people once rude and unpoliſhed, become civilized, and a model to other nations. May we not conclude, that

that these nations have a revolution similar to that of the planets, which, in the opinion of some astronomers, after having, in ten thousand years, run thro' the whole space of the heavens, find themselves, at length, at the very place from whence they set out?

Our bright days will therefore come, like those of other nations; and our expectations are so much the better grounded, as we have paid tribute to barbarism some ages longer than the people of the south.

These precious ages are easily known by the number of great men in every branch, who flourish all at the same time. Happy those princes who come into the world under such favourable conjunctures! Virtues, abilities, and genius impel them, by the same law of motion, to the noblest undertakings.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the antient and modern government of the country of Brandenburg.

BEFORE the country of Brandenburg was converted to Christianity, it was governed by Druids, as was formerly all Germany. Under the Vandals, the Teutons, and the Suevi, their princes were generals appointed by the nation, and were called Fursten, which signifies commanders or leaders. The emperors, who subdued those barbarians, established governors over the frontiers, who were named Margraves, to curb this warlike nation, extremely jealous of her liberty. There are so few records remaining of these distant ages, that, to avoid mixing

mixing fables with history, we shall confine ourselves to the government of the electorate, under the princes of the house of Hohenzollern.

In the year 1412, when the Burgraves of Norimberg were first established in the Marck, the nobility, who were become resty and intractable under the late regencies, refused to yield them homage. As they were supported in their independence by the dukes of Pomerania, they grew formidable to their sovereign: the great families were powerful; they armed their subjects, and waged war with each other, robbing travellers even on the highways. Their places of retreat were strong castles, surrounded with deep ditches. Thus, these petty tyrants having divided the authority amongst them, ravaged the open country with impunity; and as there was no government that could enforce the execution of its laws, an universal disorder prevailed, and the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost misery. The great families that arose in this state of anarchy, were those of Kittow, Putlitz, Bredow, Holtzendorff, Uchtenhagen, Torgow, Arnim, Rochow, and the lords of Hohenstein: it is with these that the elector Frederick I. had to deal.

Notwithstanding they were subdued by this prince, yet they continued still masters of the government: they granted the supplies, regulated the imposts, fixed the number of troops, which were never raised but in case of necessity, and were paid by them; they were consulted also upon the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country; and it was by their advice that the laws were administered.

History furnishes us with more than one instance of the power of the states. The elector Albert the Achilles owed a hundred thousand florins ‡, and, to get

‡ In 1472.

get clear of the debt, he desired the states to charge themselves with the payment of the money. They consented, and laid an excise on beer, which they granted only for seven years: they raised it afterwards, and from thence comes what is called the Landschafft, or the public bank.

Under the elector Joachim I. *, the states laid a duty on mills, farms, and sheep folds, in order to keep two hundred horse in pay, whom this prince sent to assist the emperor against the infidels.

In the elector Joachim II.'s time, the credit of the states was so great, that they redeemed some bailiwicks, upon which that prince had borrowed money, on condition that neither he nor his successors should ever after mortgage or sell them He consulted them upon all occasions, and promised not to undertake any thing without their consent They even entered into a correspondence with Charles V. and gave him to understand, that they did not approve the elector should go to the diet; and accordingly he did not undertake the journey.

John Sigismund, and George William ¶, consulted the states in regard to the succession of Juliers and Berg. They nominated four deputies, who followed the court, as well to assist as council, as to be employed in negotiations, and for such other purposes as circumstances might point out, in the service of those princes.

George William consulted the states for the last time †, to know whether they approved that he should enter into an alliance with the Swedes, by putting them in possession of his strong holds; or whether he should side with the emperor. From that time Schwartzenberg got such a powerful ascendent over this

* In 1530. ¶ In 1628. † In 1631.

this weak prince, that he absorbed the whole authority of the sovereign and of the states, and levied taxes by his own authority. Thus the states had no more left them of that power which they had never abused, than the merit of a blind submission to the orders of the court.

The electors had no other council than the states till the reign of Joachim Frederick. This prince established a council, composed of a minister, for the administration of justice, another for the management of the revenue, another for the affairs of the empire, and another who was marshal of the court; over all which presided a stadtholder. From this council all decisions were issued out in the last resort, all orders civil and military, all regulations concerning the police; and it was they that drew up instructions for the ministers employed in foreign courts.

When the elector happened to be obliged, either by a journey or by war, to leave his dominions, this council exercised the functions of the sovereignty: they gave audience to foreign ministers; and had the same power, in short, as that which a regency is possessed of, during the minority of a prince.

The power of the prime minister, and of the council was almost boundless; count Schwartzenberg, in particular, had increased his authority under George William to such a degree, that it seemed equal to that of the mayors of the palace under the French kings of the first race. But the enormous abuse he made of it, gave the elector Frederick William a dislike to all prime ministers. We find, by the regulations made by this prince *, that each of the great officers had his different department, and that

* In 1651.

that in every province there were two counſellors to regulate the affairs belonging to that diſtrict.

Frederick William, in the beginning of his reign, reſided at Konigsberg in Pruſſia: he took care to provide the council whom he left at Berlin, with ample inſtructions relating to the circumſtances of that time. The troops received their orders from the oldeſt generals who happened to be in the province; and the governors of fortified towns received them directly from himſelf.

Upon the death of the chancellor Gortz, this dignity was ſuppreſſed, and baron Schwerin was made firſt preſident of the council. The departments were divided, ſo that whatever related to the adminiſtration of the laws, was carried to the council of juſtice, who had a preſident at their head: the juriſdiction of the officers of the court depended on the governor of the caſtle: the revenue was adminiſtred by the chamber of the Domains, which was ſubdivided into ſeveral offices, of which baron Meinders, and after him the ſieur de Jena, had the general direction.

The eccleſiaſtical affairs were directed by a conſiſtory, compoſed partly of prieſts, and partly of laymen: beſides the above-mentioned colleges, the chancery of the fiefs determined all feudal affairs.

Things continued almoſt in this footing during the reign of Frederick I. ‡, with this difference, that he let himſelf be governed intirely by his miniſters. Danckelman, who had been his preceptor, became maſter of the ſtate: upon the diſgrace of that miniſter, count Wartenberg had the very ſame influence over his ſovereign; and Kamke would, in the like manner,

‡ After 1688.

ner, have ſucceeded the great chamberlain, if the king's death had not put an end to his growing power.

Frederick William II. *, changed the whole form of the ſtate and government: he limited the power of the miniſters; and they, who had been maſters of his father, became his ſervants.

The direction of foreign affairs was committed to the ſieurs d'Ilgen and Kniphauſen; theſe miniſters conferred with the envoys, and held a correſpondence with the Pruſſian miniſters in the different courts of Europe; but they were particularly entruſted with the affairs relating to the empire, to the boundaries of the ſtate, and the rights and privileges of the electoral family. The ſieur Cocceius, miniſter of ſtate, had the general direction of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and acted as chancellor: under him the ſieur d'Arnim had the department of appeals, and of the civil juſtice of Pruſſia and Ravensberg; and the ſieur de Katſch was placed at the head of the criminal juriſdiction.

The ſieur de Printz, great marſhal of the court, was made preſident of the ſuperior conſiſtory, and entruſted with the inſpection of the univerſities, charitable foundations, canonries, aud the affairs of the Jews.

The revenue was the part of the government which had been moſt neglected; for which reaſon the king made ſeveral regulations, and eſtabliſhed the great directory in 1724. This college is divided into four departments, and at the head of each is a miniſter of ſtate. Pruſſia, Pomerania, and the New Marck, with the poſt-office, conſtituted the firſt department, which was given to the ſieur de Grumkow: the electorate of Brandenburg, the dutchy of Madgeburg,

* After 1713.

Magdeburg, the county of Rupin, and the place of ſecretary at war, formed the ſecond department, which was given to the ſieur de Kraut: the territories on the Rhine and the Weſer, with the ſalt-pits, made the third diviſion, which was given to the ſieur de Gorne; and the fourth had the direction of the principality of Halberſtadt, the county of Mansfeldt, the manufactures, the ſtamp-office, and the mint; this fell to the ſieur de Vireck.

The king united the ſecretaryſhip at war with the commiſſion of the revenues. Formerly theſe colleges employed forty advocates, for the proſecution of the ſeveral ſuits that aroſe in thoſe courts, at the ſame time that they neglected the buſineſs for which they were deſigned; but after their re-union, they employed their time intirely in the ſervice of the ſtate.

Under theſe principal departments, the king eſtabliſhed, in each province, a court of juſtice, and another of the exchequer, ſubordinate to the miniſters. The miniſters for foreign affairs, as well as thoſe appointed for the adminiſtration of juſtice and of the revenue, made their reports every day to the king, who pronounced final judgment on the ſeveral matters laid before him. During his whole reign there was not the leaſt decree which was not ſigned with his own hand, nor the leaſt inſtruction of which he himſelf was not the author.

He declared all the fiefs allodial, on condition of a certain yearly rent, which the proprietors paid to the ſtate. He laid out four millions five hundred thouſand crowns in the re-eſtabliſhment of Lithuania; ſix millions in rebuilding ſeveral towns in his own dominions, in improving the city of Berlin, and founding

founding the town of Potzdam; beſides purchaſing lands to the value of five millions, which he incorporated with his own domains.

In a word, it was Frederick William that gave an advantageous form to the ſtate, and ſettled the government upon the principles of prudence and wiſdom.

DISSERTATION III.

Of ſuperſtition and religion.

I Divide this piece, concerning ſuperſtition and religion, into three parts; and, for the ſake of perſpicuity and order, I ſhall repreſent religion under paganiſm, popery, and the reformation.

ARTICLE I. *Of religion under Paganiſm.*

Brandenburg followed the worſhip of the different people who inhabited this country. The Teutons, its moſt antient inhabitants, adored a god called Tuiſto. Cæſar ſays, that this is the *Dis pater* ingendered by the earth, and that he had a ſon called *man*.

The worſhip paid by the Germans to their gods, was proportioned to their ſavage rudeneſs and ſimplicity. They aſſembled in the ſacred woods, ſung hymns in honour of their idols, and ſacrificed even human victims to them.

Every province had its particular god; the Vandals had one called Triglaff. There was one alſo found at Harlungerberg, in the neighbourhood of Brandenburg, which had three heads,

to ſignify †, that he reigned in heaven, upon earth, and in hell; in all probability this was the pagan trinity. Tacitus relates, that the Germans had a certain number of white horſes, which they believed to be initiated into the myſteries of their gods; and that they kept a black horſe for the goddeſs Trigla, which paſſed for the interpreter of her will. Theſe people paid worſhip alſo to ſerpents, and inflicted capital puniſhments on thoſe who killed them *.

In the fifth century the Vandals abandoned their own country, and over-run France, Spain, and even Africa ‡. The Saxons, who were coming back from England, made a deſcent at the mouth of the Elbe, and took poſſeſſion of all that country which lyes between the Elbe, the Spree, and the Oder, which the natives had abandoned. Their gods and their religion became thoſe of Brandenburg. The chief of their idols was called Irmanſaul, which ſignifies the pillar of Irman. The learned etymologiſts of Germany have taken care to derive the word Irman from Hermes, which is the ſame as the Mercury of the Greeks.

Thoſe who are verſed in German literature, all know, that it is a general fancy among the learned of this nation, to find out relations between the deities of Germany, and thoſe of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is an unhappy, but certain truth, that error and ſuperſtition are the portion of humanity. All nations have had the ſame inclination to idolatry, and as they have all been actuated by very near the ſame paſſions, the effects have anſwered accordingly. Fear gave birth to credulity, and ſelf-love ſoon made heaven concern itſelf in the fate of mankind. Hence aroſe all thoſe different forms of worſhip

† Valentia Eichſtadt.
* Alaus Arentzir.
Oroſius and Gregory of Tours.

worſhip, which, properly ſpeaking, were no more than ſubmiſſions modified in a hundred extravagant forms, to appeaſe the wrath of heaven, whoſe reſentment they dreaded. Human reaſon, altered and debaſed by the apprehenſion of an infinite variety of evils, knew not whom to fly to for ſhelter. And, as people who are ſick try every kind of medicine, however ſilly and ridiculous, in hopes to find a cure at laſt; ſo mankind, in their blindneſs, ſuppoſed a divine eſſence, and a ſalutary virtue, in the various objects of nature, from the higheſt to the loweſt. Every thing was adored; incenſe was offered to muſhrooms, altars were erected to crocodiles; temples were built, and prieſts appointed for the worſhip of ſtatues made in honour of thoſe great men who were the earlieſt governors of nations; and whenever a country laboured under any general affliction, the ſuperſtition was doubled. The learned of Germany have reaſon to ſay, in this ſenſe, that ſuperſtition is the ſame in all countries: though it be, in general, a conſequence of credulity, yet it ſhews itſelf under different forms, which are infinitely varied and proportioned to the genius of nations. I can hardly think, that the ingenious fables of the Greeks, that their deities, Minerva, Venus, and Apollo, were known in this country at the time of paganiſm. But our profound etymologiſts are not puzzled with ſuch a trifle; they think to ennoble their mythology, by giving Greek or Roman originals to their gods; as if the name of thoſe people was capable of rendering idolatry more venerable, or the extravagance of the Greeks was preferable to that of the Germans.

Irmanſaul was not the only god of the Saxons.

The following inſcription was found under one of their idols: *I was once duke of the Saxons, but now I am become a god.* Angelus maintains, that they worſhipped the ſun under the form of a radiant head, and that this idol gave its name to the town of Sonnenburg, where it was erected. The ſame author pretends, that they adored Venus, repreſented half naked, with the left nipple pierced by an arrow, and ſurrounded by three graces, of a ſmaller ſize than herſelf: thoſe people called her Magda; that is, maid; and Angelus aſſirms, that ſhe gave her name to Magdeburg, where ſhe had her altars *. The ruins of her temple were ſtill to be ſeen in this city, before it was ſacked by Tilly. But what appears moſt remarkable in the worſhip paid by the Saxons to this deity, were the games which they celebrated in honour of her. Theſe conſiſted of tournaments given by the young people of neighbouring villages. They depoſited a ſum of money in the hands of the judges, for a portion to a young woman, who was to be given in marriage to the perſon who won her at the tilting The annals of Magdeburg make mention, that theſe games were ſtill ſubſiſting, as the reliques of paganiſm, in the years 1279, and 1387.

Luxury was introduced into religion upon the increaſe of riches Formerly the people thought it improper to place their gods in temples built by human hands, for which reaſon they worſhipped them in ſacred groves; but, in proportion as they grew civilized, their gods came to live in towns ‡. And yet

* Annals of Magdeburg.

‡ Linderbrock.

yet the antient cuſtom was not intirely aboliſhed; for we find, that Charlemain forbad the Saxons to worſhip oaks, or to water them with the blood of victims.

The prieſts * of thoſe days were more artful and cunning than the common people. Beſides their prieſthood, they had three other ſorts of quacks-tricks; they invented oracles, and they dabbled in aſtrology and phyſic. So much craft was more than ſufficient to impoſe upon the ignorant vulgar. Hence it was very difficult to extirpate a religion ſupported by ſuch a multitude of ſuperſtitions. All Germany was ſtill attached to the worſhip of idols, when Charlemain, and after him Henry the Fowler, undertook to convert theſe people. After ſeveral uſeleſs efforts, they ſucceeded only by drowning idolatry in torrents of human blood.

ARTICLE II. *Converſion of the people to Chriſtianity, and the ſtate of the catholic religion in Brandenburg.*

It is a folly common to all nations, to illuſtrate the nobility of their laws, cuſtoms, and religion, by the antiquity of their original. The Germans, not content with ſtealing their gods from the Greeks, pretended alſo to have received Chriſtianity as early as any other nation in Europe. They have found in St Jerome ſome paſſage or another, which ſays, as Staphonius and Smitius pretend, that the apoſtle Thomas came to preach the goſpel in the north of Germany. If he preached any thing, it was

 in-

* Freinſhemius and Schmidt.

incredulity; for they continued pagans a long time after.

Let people ſay what they will, there is not the leaſt veſtige of Chriſtianity to be found in Brandenburg before the time of Charlemain *. This emperor, after ſeveral victories obtained over the Saxons and Brandenburgers, came and pitched his camp at Wormerſtedt †, in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, and granted peace to thoſe provinces which he had ſubdued, upon condition that they would conſent to Chriſtianity.

The impoſſibility of withſtanding ſo formidable an enemy, and the fear of menaces, induced theſe people to ſubmit to baptiſm, which they received in the emperor's camp; but as ſoon as the danger was over, and the emperor was removed to ſome diſtance from the neighbourhood, together with his army, they all returned again to their old ſtate of idolatry.

The emperor, Henry the Fowler, triumphed afterwards in 928, like Charlemain, over the inhabitants of the banks of the Elbe and the Oder; and, after a vaſt deal of bloodſhed, thoſe people were ſubdued and converted. The Chriſtians, out of their great zeal, demoliſhed the pagan idols, inſomuch, that there are ſcarce any remains of them now extant; the empty niches of thoſe idols were filled with ſaints of every kind, and new errors ſucceeded to thoſe of antiquity.

That age which Leo X. made for ever memorable in Italy, by reviving the polite arts and ſciences, which had been a long time buried in ignorance and depravation of taſte; that age, I ſay, was not ſo favourable

* In the eighth century.
† Henry Meibomius.

favourable to the nations on this ſide of the Alps. Germany was ſtill in the darkeſt ignorance, and groaned under a barbarous kind of a government. There was neither morality nor learning; and human reaſon, deprived of the light of philoſophy, was buried in its ſtupidity. The converters, and the new proſelytes, being in the ſame ſituation in regard to thoſe articles, had no reproach to make to each other.

* Towards the year 946, the emperor Otho founded the biſhoprick of Havelberg, and, not long after, that of † Brandenburg. He thought, very likely, to raiſe, by this means, a kind of dyke againſt the inundation of idolatry, to which thoſe people were prone; in the ſame manner as princes built citadels, in towns newly conquered, to check the inſolence and mutinous diſpoſitions of the inhabitants.

Brandenburg being, at length, converted to Chriſtianity, fell into the very exceſs of falſe zeal: it made itſelf tributary, at the ſame time, to the pope, to the emperor, and to the margrave, its governor. The people ſoon repented their folly, and regretted thoſe idols which were viſible objects of worſhip, and leſs burdenſome to them than the yearly tributes which they paid to the pope, whom they never ſaw. The love of liberty, the force of inveterate prejudices, and the proſpect of their own intereſt, led them back to their falſe gods. Miſtevoyus, king of the Vandals put himſelf at the head of the pagan party, and reſtored the antient worſhip, after driving the margrave Thierry out of Brandenburg. It was by force of arms that Chriſtianity was re eſtabliſhed for the third time in this country. Then it was that

 the

* Angelus. † 960.

the catholic religion appeared in full triumph, without any manner of conſtraint, and was followed by a long train of ſcandalous exceſſes. The biſhops were ignorant, cruel, and ambitious; and, inſtead of preaching peace by their example, they delighted in war; for they bore arms in perſon againſt the margraves, and their other neighbours, plundering and ravaging the country, committing the greateſt of violences, acting even the part of incendiaries, and arrogating to themſelves (notwithſtanding a life thus ſullied with crimes) an abſolute power over the conſciences of the people.

So common were thoſe diſorders, that hiſtory abounds with examples of them; but I ſhall relate only two *. In 1278, Gunter, archbiſhop of Brandenburg, waged war againſt the elector Otho, ſurnamed Sagittarius, took him priſoner, and obliged him to pay the ſum of 7000 ſilver marks for his ranſom. In 1391, the archbiſhop Albert, who went always armed, ſeized on the perſon of the lord of Bredow, who was governor-general of the Marck, took the town of Rathenaw, and made incurſions along the Havel, with a firebrand in one hand, and a ſword in the other, ſpreading terror and deſolation wherever he approached.

The groſs ignorance into which thoſe people were ſunk in the 13th century, was a ſoil in which ſuperſtition muſt neceſſarily thrive. In fact, there was no want of miracles, nor of any other kind of tricks capable of eſtabliſhing the authority of the prieſts.

Lockelius very gravely relates, that prince Otho having been excommunicated by Luitpold, archbiſhop of Brandenburg, on ſome frivolous account, he

* Lockelius.

he laughed at the eccleſiaſtic cenſures; but that he was greatly ſurpriſed when he found that his dogs, though almoſt ſtarved with hunger, would eat no victuals that came from his table; which brought him to his right way of thinking. Theſe dogs were, doubtleſs, very good catholics; but unluckily the breed is loſt.

At that time the miraculous images of the virgin Mary, and of the other ſaints, as well as their numerous reliques, had a very extraordinary virtue *. Among the reſt the blood of Belitz was vaſtly in vogue. The ſtory is this. A woman of that town, who kept a public houſe, ſtole a conſecrated hoſt, and buried it under a barrel in her cellar, hoping, by this means, to have better cuſtom for her beer. But being touched with remorſe (for publicans have a very tender conſcience) ſhe owned her crime in public to the curate, who came in proceſſion, with all his pontifical train, to dig up the hoſt. In thruſting the ſhovel into the ground, they ſaw ſome blood guſh out, and every body immediately cried out, A miracle. The impoſture was too palpable; for it was known, that this was ſome of the blood of an ox, which had been ſpilt there by the woman of the houſe. Theſe miracles made a great impreſſion upon the minds of the people; but this would not ſatisfy the clergy †. The court of Rome being ever more attentive to extend her dominion under the colour of religion, neglected no method that could be conducive to that end. In the 13th century moſt of the religious orders were founded. The pope eſtabliſhed as many as he could of them in Germany, and particularly in the country of Brandenburg, under

* Annals of Brandenburg. † In 1270.

der the pretence of fixing, by this means, the minds of the people in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity. The hypochondriac, the lazy, and all thoſe who had incurred ſhame or diſgrace in the world, retired into thoſe ſacred aſylums, where they robbed the ſtate of its ſubjects, by baniſhing themſelves from ſociety, and by renouncing the benediction which God gave to our firſt parents. Thus they became a burden to the public, living only upon alms. or making unlawful acquiſitions. And though theſe inſtitutions were contrary to the laws of ſociety and good policy, yet the pope eſtabliſhed them over all Europe: and thus, without oppoſition, he raiſed a powerful army of prieſts, at the expence of the ſeveral princes, and kept large gariſons in countries over which he had no ſovereignty. But in thoſe days the people were brutiſh, the princes weak, and the prieſts rode in triumph.

When Chriſtianity was well eſtabliſhed, it produced fanatics of every kind *. The country of Brandenburg was afflicted with the plague in 1351; and this was ſufficient to make ſuperſtition fly into its higheſt extravagance. To appeaſe the divine wrath, ſome Jews were baptized by force, and others were burnt; public proceſſions were ordained; vows were made to miraculous images; and the imagination, grown warm by ſo many fooliſh and whimſical inventions, produced the order of the flagellants. Theſe were melancholy Chriſtians, who ſcourged themſelves with rods of wire in public proceſſions. But the pope himſelf was ſhocked at theſe horrid macerations, and condemned the order, together with its abuſes.

The

* Cramer, Baronius, Lockelius.

The public devotions took afterwards a milder turn. Pope John XXII. eſtabliſhed offices of indulgencies in the country of Brandenburg; the Auſtin friars traded in this commodity, and ſent the money they raiſed by it to Rome. Miracles were, at length, grown ſo common *, that, by the teſtimony of ſome authors, a ſhower of red and white croſſes is ſaid to have fallen upon the people that paſſed along the ſtreets in the year 1500. Some of thoſe croſſes were found in loaves of bread, which was looked upon as the forerunner of a general calamity.

At this very time, when the prieſts impoſed ſo groſly on the credulity of mankind; when they made uſe of religion only as a means to enrich themſelves; when the clergy, in general, led the moſt ſcandalous lives; a ſimple friar undertook to reform ſo many abuſes. By his example he reſtored mankind to the uſe of their reaſon, which they had been deprived of for ſo many ages; and the human underſtanding, encouraged by the recovery of its liberty, ſpread its inquiries on every ſide.

ARTICLE

* Lockelius, annals of Brandenburg.

ARTICLE III. *Of religion under the reformation.*

I ſhall not conſider the reformation as a divine or a hiſtorian; the tenets of this religion, and the events which it gave riſe to, are ſo well known, that there is no need to repeat them. So great, and ſo extraordinary a revolution, which changed almoſt the whole ſyſtem of Europe, deſerves to be examined in a philoſophical light.

The catholic religion, which had been raiſed on the ruins of that of the Jews, and of the Pagans, had now ſubſiſted during the ſpace of fifteen centuries: ſhe had been humble and mild under perſecutions; but, grown fierce after her eſtabliſhment, ſhe was for perſecuting in her turn. All Chriſtendom was ſubject to the pope, who was reckoned infallible, by which means his power was more extended than that of the moſt abſolute monarch. A pitiful friar undertook to oppoſe a power ſo well eſtabliſhed, and, of a ſudden, one half of Europe ſhook off the papal yoke.

As the ſeveral cauſes, which produced this great revolution, had ſubſiſted long before it happened, they prepared the minds of the people for ſo important an event. The Chriſtian religion was degenerated to ſuch a degree, that the very characters of its inſtitution were no longer diſcernible. Nothing could excel the original ſanctity of its doctrine; but it was ſoon perverted by the natural bias of mankind to corruption. Thus the pureſt ſources of good

good became the cauſe of all manner of miſchief. This religion, which preached humility, charity, and patience, was eſtabliſhed by fire and ſword. The prieſts, who ought to have been examples of poverty and ſanctity, led the moſt ſcandalous lives: they acquired immenſe riches, which puffed them up with pride; and ſome of them were become powerful princes. The pope, who originally was ſubject to the emperors, aſſumed to himſelf the power of making and depoſing them; he thundered out his excommunications, laid whole kingdoms under interdicts, and carried things to ſo enormous an exceſs, that the world was obliged to cry out for a reformation.

Religion changed, together with the manners of the people; every age it loſt ſomething of its natural ſimplicity; and, by too much paint, its features were no longer diſtinguiſhable. All that was ſuperadded to it was the invention of men; and, like them, was doomed to periſh. At the council of * Niece, the divinity ‡ of the Son was declared equal to that of the Father; and, by joining the holy Ghoſt to thoſe two perſons, they made the Trinity. Prieſts were forbidden to marry, by the canons of the council of Toledo †; but they did not comply with this inſtitution till the 13th century. Purgatory was invented in the 6th century; and the council of Trent made it an article of faith. The worſhip of images was eſtabliſhed by the ſecond council of Niece,

* In the year 321.

‡ Origen and St Juſtin were not of this opinion. The latter ſays, in his dialogue, p. 316. that the Son is not near ſo great as the Father.

† Held in the year 400.

Nice ¶, and tranſubſtantiation by the council of Trent * *. The ſchoolmen maintained the infallibility of the pope, ſince the quarrel between the biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople. Some melancholy men founded religious orders, and confined to idle ſpeculation a life, which ſhould be ſpent in action for the good of ſociety. Convents were multiplied without number, and a great number of mankind were buried and ſequeſtrated from ſociety. In fine, all manner of tricks were invented to impoſe upon the credulity of the vulgar; and forged miracles were become almoſt a common thing.

And yet religion was not to expect a reformation by changes ariſing from ſpeculative conſiderations. Among thoſe who think, the generality turn all their ſagacity and penetration on the ſide of intereſt and ambition; there are very few that combine abſtract ideas, and much leſs who reflect deeply on thoſe important matters; and the common people, the moſt reſpectable, moſt numerous, and moſt unfortunate part of ſociety, follow the impreſſions which they receive from their leaders.

This was not the caſe in reſpect to the tyrannical power which the clergy exerciſed over the conſciences of the people; the prieſts ſtripped them of their liberty and property.

This ſlavery, which every day grew heavier, had already occaſioned great complaints. The moſt dull, as well as the moſt ingenious, if they have but ſenſibility, feel an injury done them All aim alike at their own welfare, and if they ſuffer for a while, their patience will be tired out at laſt. Thus the oppreſſion,

¶ Held in 781.
* * 1645.

oppreſſion, under which ſo many nations groaned, would have inevitably produced a reformation, even if the Roman clergy themſelves, torn by inteſtine diviſions, had not given the ſignal of liberty, by ſetting up the ſtandard of revolt againſt the pope. The Vaudois, the Wickleſites, and the Huſſites, had already attempted to ſtir; but Luther and Calvin, who had equal boldneſs with the former, and were born under more favourable conjunctures, gave, at length, the finiſhing ſtroke to this great work.

The Auſtin friars were in poſſeſſion of the trade of indulgencies; but the pope gave the commiſſion, this time, to the Dominicans, which occaſioned a furious quarrel between the two orders. The Auſtin friars exclaimed againſt the pope; and Luther, who was of their order, attacked, with great vigour, the abuſes of the church. He boldly tore off part of the veil of ſuperſtition, and became the head of a ſect; and, as his doctrine ſtripped the biſhops of their benefices, and the monaſteries of their riches, princes followed this new reformer in crouds.

Religion then aſſumed a new form, and drew near to its antient ſimplicity. This is not a place to examine, whether it would not have been better to have left more pomp and external ſhew, as it has a greater effect upon the people, who are ſtruck only by ſenſible objects. It ſeems that a worſhip, intirely ſpiritual, and ſo naked as that of the proteſtants, is not deſigned for dull heavy men, who are incapable of riſing by thought to the admiration of the ſublimeſt truths.

The reformation was of ſervice to the world, and eſpecially to the progreſs of the human underſtanding. The proteſtants being obliged to reflect upon matters

matters of faith, diveſted themſelves ſuddenly of the prejudices of education, and found themſelves at liberty to make uſe of their reaſon, that guide which is given to man to conduct him, and which he ought to follow, if ever, in the moſt important concerns of life. The catholics, finding themſelves vigorouſly attacked, were obliged to defend themſelves. The clergy began to ſtudy, and emerged from that ſhameful ignorance, in which they had been, almoſt, all buried.

If there was but one religion in the world, it would be proud and deſpotic; the prieſts would be ſo many tyrants, who, while they exerciſed their ſeverity towards the people, would ſhew indulgence only to their own crimes. Faith, ambition and policy would enſlave the univerſe. Now, that there are a great many ſects, none of them can deviate, without having reaſon to repent it, from the rules of moderation. The example of the reformation is a bridle which hinders the pope from giving looſe to his ambition; and he has reaſon to apprehend the deſertion of his members if he abuſes his power. Thus he is very ſparing of his excommunications, ſince, by a ſtep of that kind, he loſt Henry VIII. and the kingdom of England. The catholic and proteſtant clergy, who watch one another with an equal inclination to criticiſe, are both obliged to obſerve, at leaſt, an external decorum. Thus there is an exact balance between them. Happy, if the ſpirit of party, fanaticiſm, and folly, never hurry them again into thoſe barbarous wars, which ſhould be eternally odious to all branches of Chriſtianity! Conſidering religion merely in a political light, it ſeems that proteſtantiſm is better adapted both for republics

republics and monarchies. It agrees better with that ſpirit of liberty which is eſſential to the former. For in a government that ſtands in need of merchants, labourers, tradeſmen, ſoldiers, and, in ſhort, of a great multitude of ſubjects for its ſupport, it is certain, that people who make a vow againſt the propagation of the human ſpecies, are pernicious to the ſtate.

In monarchies, the proteſtant religion depends on no foreign power, but is intirely ſubject to the government; whereas, the catholic religion eſtabliſhes a ſpiritual juriſdiction, unlimited in its power, and fruitful in plots and artifices in the prince's temporal dominions. The prieſts, who have the direction of conſciences, and have no other ſuperior but the pope, have a greater command over the people than the ſovereign that governs them; and, by a peculiar artifice of confounding the intereſts of religion with human ambition, the popes have often been at variance with princes on ſubjects that are no way ſubject to the juriſdiction of the church.

In the country of Brandenburg, and moſt of the provinces of Germany, the people were all impatient under the yoke of the Roman clergy. This was too coſtly a religion for ſo poor a country. Purgatory, maſſes for the living and the dead, jubilees, firſt fruits, indulgencies, venial and mortal ſins, the changing of penances into pecuniary fines, matrimonial cauſes, vows and offerings, were ſo many impoſts which the pope laid on credulity, and brought him in as ſure a revenue as Mexico does to Spain. Thoſe who paid them were exhauſted and diſſatisfied. There was no neceſſity of uſing many arguments to diſpoſe thoſe people to receive the

reformation: they complained of the tyranny of the clergy; a man ſtarted up who promiſed to deliver them from the oppreſſion, and they all followed him.

Joachim II. was the firſt elector who embraced the Lutheran religion, which he learned of his mother, who was a princeſs of Denmark. For the new doctrine had made its way into Denmark before it was received in Brandenburg. His ſubjects ſoon followed his example, and all Brandenburg turned Proteſtant. Matthew Jagow, biſhop of Brandenburg, adminiſtred the ſacrament in both kinds in the convent of Black-friars. This convent became afterwards the cathedral of Berlin. Joachim II. diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the party, not only by the controverſial letters which he wrote to the king of Poland, but moreover, by the eloquent ſpeeches which he is ſaid to have * made at the diet of Augſburg in favour of the Proteſtants.

The reformation could not aboliſh all the errors of the antient religion; though it had opened the eyes of the people with regard to an infinite number of ſuperſtitions, yet it retained a great many others; ſo inconceivable is the propenſity of the human mind to error. Luther did not believe in purgatory, yet he admitted apparitions and devils into his ſyſtem: he even maintained, that Satan had appeared to him at Wittemburg, and that he had exorciſed him, by ſlinging an inkhorn at his head. There was ſcarce any nation, at that time, but was full of thoſe prejudices. The court, and much more ſo the people, were prepoſſeſſed with a notion of ſorcery, conjuring, apparitions, and devils. In 1533, two old women paſſed

* Lockelius's annals of Brandenburg.

paſſed through the ordeal of fire, to clear themſelves of the charge of witchcraft. The court had its aſtrologer: one of them foretold, at the birth of John Sigiſmund, that he would be a fortunate prince, becauſe, at that time, a new ſtar was diſcovered in the conſtellation of Caſſiopeia. But the aſtrologer did not foretel, that John Sigiſmund would turn Calviniſt to pleaſe the Dutch, whoſe aſſiſtance was of great ſervice to him in aſſerting his rights to the duchy of Cleves.

After Luther's ſchiſm had divided the church, the popes and emperors uſed every kind of endeavour to bring about a re-union. The divines of both profeſſions held conferences, one while at Thorn, another time at Augſburg. Religious ſubjects were debated in all the diets of the empire, and yet every attempt proved fruitleſs. At length a bloody and cruel war broke out, which was extinguiſhed and renewed at different intervals. It was often kindled by the ambition of the emperors, who wanted to oppreſs the liberty of the princes, and the conſciences of the people. But the jealouſy of France, and the ambition of Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, preſerved Germany and religion from the deſpotic power of the houſe of Auſtria.

During all thoſe troubles, the electors of Brandenburg behaved with the greateſt prudence. They were directed by the principles of lenity and moderation. Frederick-William having acquired catholic ſubjects by the treaty of Weſtphalia, did not perſecute them; he even gave leave to ſome Jewiſh families to ſettle in his dominions, and permitted them to build ſynagogues.

Frederick I. ſometimes ſhut the catholic churches,

by way of repriſal for the perſecutions which the Proteſtants ſuffered under the elector Palatine; but the catholics were always re-inſtated in the free exerciſe of their religion. The Calviniſts attempted to perſecute the Lutherans in the country of Brandenburg. The king being inclined to favour the Calviniſts, embraced this opportunity to eſtabliſh prieſts of that ſect in villages which had been always directed by Lutherans. This plainly ſhews, that religion does not deſtroy the paſſions of mankind, and that prieſts, of whatever religion, are always ready to oppreſs their adverſaries, when they have power on their ſide.

It is a ſhame to the human underſtanding, that at the beginning of ſo learned an age as the XVIIIth, all manner of ſuperſtitions were yet ſubſiſting. Men of ſenſe, as well as the vulgar, believed ſtill in apparitions. There was a kind of popular tradition, that a ghoſt dreſſed in white appeared conſtantly at Berlin, whenever a prince of the family was near his end. The late king ordered a fellow to be taken up and puniſhed, who had pretended to have ſeen an apparition; the ghoſts, offended at ſo bad a reception, appeared no more, and the public was diſabuſed.

In 1708, a woman, who had the misfortune of being old, was burnt as a witch. Theſe barbarous conſequences of ignorance made a great impreſſion upon Thomaſius, the learned profeſſor of Halle; he expoſed the weakneſs and ridicule of the proofs of witchcraft; he maintained public theſes on the natural cauſes of things, and declaimed ſo loudly againſt trials of this kind, that the judges were aſhamed to continue them any longer; and, ſince his time, the ſex has been ſuffered to grow old, and die in peace.

Of all the learned men that have adorned Germany,

ny, Leibnitz and Thomaſius did the greateſt ſervice to the human underſtanding, by pointing out the right road which reaſon ought to purſue to come at the truth. They oppoſed prejudices of every kind, and, in all their writings, appealed to analogy and experience, the two crutches by the help of which we drawl on in the road of argumentation; and they had a great number of diſciples.

The Calviniſts became more pacific under the reign of Frederick-William, and religious quarrels ceaſed. The Lutherans improved this tranquillity to their advantage. Francke, a miniſter of their ſect, eſtabliſhed, by his own induſtry, a college at Halle. This was a nurſery for young divines, from whence a ſwarm of prieſts iſſued forth, who formed a ſect of rigid Lutherans, and who wanted nothing but an Abbe Paris's grave, and an Abbe Becherand, to play gambols upon. Theſe are Proteſtant Janſeniſts, who are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by their myſtical ſeverities. After them appeared all ſorts of Quakers, Zinzindorfians, Hychilians, and other ſects, one more ridiculous and extravagant than the other, who, by carrying * the principles of the primitive church too far, fell into ſome criminal abuſes.

All theſe ſects live here in peace, and contribute alike to the proſperity of the ſtate; for there is never a religion that differs greatly from the reſt, in reſpect to morality. Hence they may be all alike to the government, which, of courſe, leaves every man at liberty to go to heaven which way he pleaſes. All that is required of them is to be peaceful and good ſubjects.

* The community of goods, and equality of conditions. It is even ſaid that this community of goods is extended to women in their aſſemblies.

False zeal is a tyrant that depopulates provinces; toleration is a tender mother that makes them flourish.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the reasons for the enacting and repealing of laws.

WHOSOEVER is desirous of acquiring a complete knowledge of the manner in which laws ought to be enacted or repealed, can attain it only by the study of history. There we find, that every nation has had its particular laws; that these laws were established by degrees; and that it was some time before mankind could establish any thing upon a reasonable footing. There we find also, that those legislators, whose laws have subsisted longest, were such as aimed only at the public good, and were best acquainted with the temper and disposition of the people whose government they settled.

It is these considerations that have induced us to enter into a particular inquiry concerning the history of laws, and the manner in which they were established in most civilized countries.

It seems probable that the fathers of families were the first legislators. The necessity of establishing order in their own houses, obliged them, without doubt, to make domestic laws. After those early ages, and when men began to unite in communities, the

the laws of those particular jurisdictions were found insufficient for a more numerous society

The human heart, which seems to lose its malice in solitude, exerts every branch of it upon the great stage of the world. And if the mutual intercourse of mankind, by sorting the most homogeneous characters, furnishes the virtuous with good company, it supplies accomplices also to the wicked.

When disorders began to increase in towns, and new vices were seen to rise, fathers of families, as most interested, agreed, for their own security, to endeavour to stem the torrent Laws were therefore published, and magistrates appointed to enforce them. Such is the depravity of mankind, that, to live happy, and in peace, there is a necessity for having recourse to the powerful constraint of laws!

The first laws provided only against great inconveniencies: the civil laws regulated the worship of the gods, the division of lands, marriage contracts, and inheritances; criminal laws exerted their rigour only in regard to crimes whose effects were most apprehended: and in proportion, afterwards, as unexpected inconveniencies arose, new disorders gave birth to new laws.

From the union of towns, republics took their rise; and, from the bias of all human things to vicissitude, the form of their government often changed. The people, tired of a democracy, made a transition to aristocracy, in the room of which they substituted, afterwards, a monarchical government. This was brought about two ways; for either the people placed their confidence in the eminent virtue of one of their fellow citizens, or some ambitious person, by artifice, usurped the sovereign power.

There are few countries but have experienced theſe different governments ; and yet all of them have had different laws.

Oſiris is the firſt legiſlator mentioned in profane hiſtory * ; he was king of Egypt, and eſtabliſhed laws for that country. Theſe laws, to which even ſovereigns ſubmitted, regulated the government of the kingdom, and directed, at the ſame time, the conduct of individuals.

The kings of thoſe days acquired the love of the people, only inaſmuch as they conformed to theſe laws. Oſiris † appointed thirty judges, the chief of whom wore about his neck the image of truth, hanging by a gold chain : to be touched by this image was carrying the cauſe.

Oſiris regulated the worſhip of the gods, the diviſion of lands, and the diſtinction of ranks and conditions : he forbad the perſons of debtors to be arreſted ; and baniſhed the ſeducing charms of rhetoric from public pleadings The Egyptians pledged the dead bodies of their fathers, and left them with their creditors for ſecurity ; and it was the utmoſt infamy not to redeem them before their death. This legiſlator thought it was not ſufficient to puniſh men while they were living ; for which reaſon, he eſtabliſhed a tribunal to judge them after they were dead, to the end, that the infamy annexed to their condemnation might ſerve as a ſpur to excite the living to virtue.

Next to the laws of the Egyptians, thoſe of the Cretans are the moſt antient. Their legiſlator, Minos, gave out that he was ſon of Jupiter, and that he

* Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

† Some authors add Iſis alſo.

he had received theſe laws from his father, in order to render them more venerable.

Lycurgus, king of Sparta, made uſe of Minos's laws, to which he added ſome of thoſe of Oſiris, which he collected in his travels through Egypt. He baniſhed gold, ſilver, and all ſorts of coins and ſuperfluous arts from his republic ; and he made an equal diviſion of lands among the citizens.

As the chief intent of this legiſlator was to form his people to war, he diſcouraged every kind of paſſion that might enervate their courage. With this view, he permitted the promiſcuous uſe of women among the citizens, by which means the ſtate was peopled, and an attachment to the ſoft endearments of marriage was prevented. The children were all brought up at the public expence ; and when a father could prove that his new born infant was not ſound, he was allowed to kill him. Lycurgus thought that a man, who was unable to bear arms, was not fit to live.

He made a regulation that the Helotes, who were a kind of ſlaves, ſhould manure the lands ; and that the Spartans ſhould be employed only in military exerciſes.

Girls were admitted, as well as boys, to wreſtle in public, on which occaſion they both performed naked.

They eat all together in public, and no difference was made of rank or condition.

Strangers were forbidden to make any ſtay in Sparta, leſt their manners ſhould corrupt thoſe introduced by Lycurgus.

There was no puniſhment againſt thieves, unleſs they were detected in the fact. Lycurgus's aim was to form a military republic, and he ſucceeded.

Dra-

Dracon † was the firſt who made laws for the Athenians; but theſe were ſo rigorous, that it was ſaid they were written rather with blood than ink.

We have ſeen in what manner laws were eſtabliſhed in Egypt, and at Sparta: let us now inquire how they were reformed at Athens.

The diſorders which univerſally prevailed in Attica, and the unhappy conſequences apprehended from thence, rendered it neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome prudent perſon, who ſhould be judged capable of reforming ſo many abuſes. The poor, who were expoſed to the moſt cruel oppreſſion from the rich, becauſe of their debts, thought of chuſing to themſelves a chief, who ſhould deliver them from the tyranny of their creditors.

During theſe diſſenſions, Solon was named Archon, and ſupreme ruler, by the unanimous conſent of the people. The rich, as Plutarch ſays, approved of him readily, as he was rich; and the poor, becauſe he was honeſt.

Solon releaſed the debtors, and gave the citizens a power of making teſtaments.

He allowed that ſuch women as had the plea of impotency againſt their husbands, might chuſe themſelves others from among their relations.

Theſe laws inflicted puniſhments on idleneſs; they acquitted thoſe who killed an adulterer; and prohibited the committing the wardſhip of children to their next relations.

If a man had but one eye, he who put out the other was ſentenced to loſe both his; and men of debauched

† Dracon puniſhed even the ſmalleſt faults with death; he went ſo far as to proſecute inanimate things: thus a ſtatue, for example, which had hurt a perſon, by falling upon him, was baniſhed the city.

debauched morals were not ſuffered to ſpeak in public aſſemblies.

Solon made no law againſt parricide: as this crime had never been heard of among the Athenians, he thought, that to forbid it, would be rather giving them a notion of committing it.

He ordered all his laws to be depoſited in the Areopagus. This court was founded by Cecrops, and in the beginning was compoſed of thirty judges, who were afterwards increaſed to five hundred. They held their ſittings by night, and the orators were allowed only to ſtate the caſe of their clients, without endeavouring to excite the paſſions.

The Athenian laws were afterwards received at Rome: but as the laws of the Romans became thoſe of the ſeveral nations which they ſubdued, it will be neceſſary to enlarge a little upon this ſubject.

Romulus was the founder and firſt legiſlator of Rome. We have the following few fragments of his laws remaining.

He ordained, that the kings ſhould have the ſupreme authority in things relating to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to religion; that no credit ſhould be given to the fables that are told of the gods; that no notions ſhould be propagated concerning their nature, but ſuch as are pure and religious; and nothing baſe or diſhonourable ſhould be attributed to thoſe happy beings. Plutarch adds, that it is impious to imagine the Deity takes any pleaſure in the charms of a mortal beauty. And yet this king, who had ſo little ſuperſtition in other reſpects, ordained that nothing ſhould be undertaken without firſt conſulting the augurs.

Romulus placed the Patricians in the ſenate, and divided

divided the Plebeians into tribes ; and as to the ſlaves, they were not conſidered at all.

Husbands had a right to puniſh their wives with death, when they were convicted of adultery or drunkenneſs.

Fathers had an unlimited power over their children ; they were allowed to deſtroy their new-born infants, that had any monſtrous deformity. Parricide was puniſhed with death ; if a patron defrauded his client, he was held infamous ; and if a ſtep-daughter happened to ſtrike her father, ſhe was abandoned to the vengeance of the houſhold gods. Romulus would have even the very walls of towns to be ſacred ; hence he ſlew his brother Remus, for having tranſgreſſed this law, by leaping over the walls of the new town.

This prince eſtabliſhed alſo aſylums, one of which was near the Tarpeian rock.

To theſe laws of Romulus, Numa added ſome new ones : as this prince was very religious, and had right notions of the Deity, he prohibited the repreſenting of God in the reſemblance of man or beaſt. Hence, for the ſpace of one hundred and ſixty years from the foundation of Rome, there were no images in the Roman temples.

Tullus Hoſtilius, in order to encourage the propagation of the ſpecies, decreed, that if a woman was delivered of three children at a birth, they ſhould be maintained at the public expence till the age of puberty.

We find, among Tarquin's laws, that he obliged each citizen to give in an account of his eſtate to the king, under a ſevere penalty if he failed ; that he regulated the donations and offerings which private perſons

perſons made to the temples; and that, among others, he permitted manumitted ſlaves to be admitted into the tribes of the city. This prince's laws were alſo favourable to debtors.

Such were the principal laws which the Romans received under their kings. They were collected into one body by Sextus Papirius, from whom they took the name of the Papirian code.

As moſt of thoſe laws had been made for a monarchical government, they were aboliſhed upon the expulſion of their kings.

Valerius Poplicula, Brutus's colleague in the conſulate, and a great favourite of the people, for having been one of the principal authors of the liberty of Rome, publiſhed new laws, adapted to the government lately eſtabliſhed.

Theſe laws allowed an appeal from the magiſtrates to the people, and prohibited, upon pain of death, the accepting of any poſt or dignity without their conſent. He diminiſhed the public taxes, and made it lawful to kill any perſon who ſhould aſpire to the ſovereign power.

It was not till ſome time after Poplicula, that uſury was eſtabliſhed ; the Patricians at Rome carried it even to twelve *per cent.* If the debtor could not ſatisfy his creditor, he was dragged to priſon, and he and his whole family were reduced to ſlavery. The ſeverity of this law ſeemed ſo intolerable to to the Plebeians, who were often victims to it, that they complained againſt the conſuls. The ſenate was inflexible; and the people being provoked at this treatment, retired to the Mons Sacer ; where they might treat with the Patricians upon equal terms. The conſequence of this ſeceſſion was, that they did

did not return to Rome, till it was agreed that their debts ſhould be aboliſhed, and magiſtrates were created by the name of Tribunes, with a proper authority to maintain their rights. Theſe tribunes reduced the intereſt of money to half *per cent.* and, at length, it was intirely aboliſhed for a time.

The two orders of which the Roman republic was compoſed, were continually forming ambitious projects, to increaſe their reſpective power; and from hence aroſe continual diſtruſts and jealouſies. Some factious citizens made it their buſineſs to flatter the people, by puſhing their pretenſions to a pitch of extravagance; and ſome young ſenators, men of ſtrong paſſions, and of no leſs pride, contributed frequently to render the reſolutions of the ſenate too ſevere.

The Agrarian law, relating to the diviſion of lands, was a ſource of frequent animoſities. This diſpute was firſt ſtarted in the year 267 of the foundation of Rome. The ſenate found means, ſometimes, to ſtifle theſe diſſenſions, by employing the people in military operations; but they were always revived, and continued till the year 300.

Rome, at length, grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of having recourſe to laws that might ſatisfy both parties. With this view they ſent Poſthumius Albus, Antonius Manlius, and Sulpicius Camerinus, to Athens, in order to make a compilement of Solon's laws. Theſe ambaſſadors, who, at their return, were choſen among the decemvirs, digeſted theſe laws, which the ſenate approved by a decree, and the people by a plebiſcitum. They were engraved on ten copper tables, and the year following two more were added to them. This conſtituted the body of laws, ſo

ſo well known by the name of that of the twelve tables.

Theſe laws limited the power of fathers over their children; they inflicted puniſhments on guardians who defrauded their wards; and they allowed people to leave their eſtates by will to whom they pleaſed. But the triumvirs ordained afterwards, that the teſtators ſhould be obliged to leave a fourth part of their fortune to their next heirs; and this is the origin of what we call the Legitim, or the ſhare that a child has by law in his parent's eſtate *.

Children, born ten months after the death of their father, were declared legitimate; and the emperor Adrian extended this privilege to eleven months.

Divorce, a thing as yet unknown to the Romans, had not the force of law till it was eſtabliſhed by the twelve tables. Puniſhments were alſo inflicted againſt injurious actions, words, and writings.

Even the intention of committing parricide was puniſhed with death.

The citizens were impowered to kill a thief, if he had been taken with arms about him, or if he had broke into their houſe by night.

Falſe witneſſes were ſentenced to be tumbled down from the Tarpeian rock. In criminal cauſes, the plaintiff was allowed two days to draw up his accuſation, of which he gave notice; and the defendant had three days to make his anſwer, and prepare for a defence †. If it appeared, upon trial, that the plaintiff had falſly accuſed the defendant, he was condemned to the ſame puniſhment as would have been

* There were only two ſorts of heirs *ab inteſtato*; the children and the relations by the male ſex.

† The defendant appeared in a ſuppliant poſture before the magiſtrate, with his relations and clients.

been inflicted on the defendant, if the latter had been found guilty of the charge.

This is the ſubſtance of the laws of the twelve tables; laws of ſo excellent a nature, that Tacitus ſays, all good inſtitutions ended with them. Whatever was moſt perfect in the Egyptian and Greek laws centered in theſe. They were ſo equitable as not to reſtrain the liberty of the citizens, but in ſuch caſes as the abuſe of it might be prejudicial to the tranquillity of families, and to the ſecurity of the republic.

The authority of the ſenate, which was continually claſhing with the privileges of the people, the immoderate ambition of the Patricians, the pretenſions of the Plebeians, which were perpetually increaſing, together with many other cauſes, which may be ſeen in hiſtory, raiſed new diſturbances, and flung the republic into violent convulſions. The Gracchi and the Saturnini publiſhed ſome ſeditious laws; and during the troubles of the civil wars, a vaſt number of decrees were iſſued out, which were occaſionally enforced, according to the different ſucceſs of the perſons by whom they were enacted. Sylla aboliſhed the antient laws, and eſtabliſhed new ones, which were repealed by Lepidus. The corruption of manners increaſing with theſe domeſtic diſſenſions, gave riſe to an infinite number of new inſtitutions. Pompey was appointed to reduce them; and he publiſhed ſome himſelf, which died with him. During five and twenty years of civil wars, all law and juſtice were at a ſtand: and things continued in this confuſion till the reign of Auguſtus, who, in his ſixth conſulate, re-eſtabliſhed the antient laws, and aboliſhed all thoſe which were made during the inteſtine commotions of the republic.

At

At length the emperor Juſtinian removed the confuſion which the multiplicity of laws had occaſioned in the ſtudy of juriſprudence, by ordering his chancellor Trebonian, to compoſe a compleat body of laws. Accordingly he reduced the whole into three volumes, which are ſtill remaining; namely, the digeſt, which contains the opinions of the moſt celebrated civilians; the code, which includes the conſtitutions of the emperors; and the inſtitutes, which are an abridgment of the Roman laws.

The excellency of theſe laws was ſo greatly admired, that, after the extinction of the Roman empire, they were adopted by moſt civilized nations, who made them the ground-work of their juriſprudence.

The Romans had introduced their laws into the ſeveral countries which were obliged to ſubmit to their victorious arms. They were received by Gaul, when Julius Cæſar ſubdued that country, and made it a province of the empire.

In the fifth century, after the diſmembering of the Roman monarchy, the northern nations over-run a great part of Europe. Theſe barbarians introduced their own laws and cuſtoms among their conquered enemies. Gaul was then invaded by the Viſigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

Clovis thought he ſhewed an indulgence to his new ſubjects, by leaving them at liberty to chuſe either the laws of the conqueror, or of the conquered. He publiſhed the Salic law; and ſeveral others were made by his ſucceſſors.

Gundebald, king of Burgundy, publiſhed a decree, by which he permits the uſe of ſingle combats.

Formerly the nobility had a right to judge as ſovereigns, and without appeal.

In

In the reign of Lewis *the fat*, the ſupreme and regal juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed in France. We find that Charles IX. had a deſign to reform the law, and to abridge the proceedings, which appears by the ordinance of Moulins: and it is very extraordinary that ſo wiſe a deſign ſhould have been formed in the midſt of domeſtic troubles. But as the preſident Hainault ſays, the chancellor de l'Hopital was always watchful for the welfare of his country. At length Lewis XIV. ordered all the laws, from Clovis down to his time, to be reduced into a body, which took from him the name of Code Louis.

The Britons, who, as well as the Gauls, were ſubdued by the Romans, received alſo the laws of their conquerors.

Theſe people, before that time, were governed by Druids, whoſe maxims had the force of laws.

The fathers of families had the power of life and death over their wives and children. All communication with ſtrangers was forbidden: they put priſoners of war to death, and ſacrificed them to the gods.

The Romans maintained their power and their laws among theſe iſlanders, till the reign of Honorius, who reſtored them to their liberty, in the year 410, by a ſolemn act.

The Britons were afterwards attacked by the Picts *, the allies of the Scotch; being but poorly aſſiſted by the Romans, and always beaten by the enemy, they applied for aid to the Saxons. Theſe people, who were only auxiliaries at firſt to the Britons,

* The Picts, a people who came from the country of Mecklenburg.

tons, became their maſters; and, after a war of 150 years, they ſubdued the whole iſland.

The Anglo-Saxons introduced their laws into Britain, the ſame as formerly obtained in Germany. They divided England into ſeven kingdoms, which had each its ſeparate government. All of them had general aſſemblies †, compoſed of nobles, the middling people, and the order of the peaſants. This form of government, which had a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, has continued to our time; for the authority is ſtill divided between the king, the houſe of lords, and the houſe of commons.

Alfred the great gave England the firſt body of laws. Though theſe laws were mild, yet this prince was inexorable to magiſtrates convicted of corruption. It is mentioned in hiſtory, that, in one ſingle year, he ordered four and forty judges to be hanged, who had been guilty of betraying their truſt.

By the laws of Alfred the great, every Engliſhman accuſed of a crime, ought to be tried by his peers; and the nation ſtill preſerves this privilege.

England aſſumed a new form by the conqueſt which * William duke of Normandy made of that country. This prince eſtabliſhed new courts of judicature, among which that of the exchequer ſtill ſubſiſts; and theſe ſeveral courts followed the king's perſon. He ſeparated the eccleſiaſtic from the civil juriſdiction, and cauſed his laws to be publiſhed in the Norman language; the ſevereſt among them was the prohibition of hunting, upon pain of mutilation, and even of death.

† Theſe aſſemblies were called Wittenagemot, or the council of the wiſe, and their government took the name of heptarchy.

* Crowned at London in 1066.

After William the conqueror, the kings his ſucceſſors granted ſeveral charters.

Henry I. ſurnamed Beauclerc, gave the nobility leave to ſucceed to inheritances, without paying any acknowledgment to the ſovereign; he likewiſe permitted them to marry without the prince's conſent.

We find alſo, that king Stephen granted a charter, by which he declared, that he held his power of the people and the clergy; he confirmed the privileges of the church, and repealed the ſevere laws of William the conqueror.

King John, ſurnamed Lackland, granted his ſubjects the charter called *magna charta*, which conſiſts of 72 articles.

This famous charter regulates the manner of holding fiefs; as alſo, the ſhare allowed to widows, who are forbidden to marry again in a hurry, and to give ſecurity not to enter into a ſecond marriage at all without leave of the lord Paramount. It eſtabliſhes courts of juſtice in fixed places. It forbids the levying of taxes, without the conſent of the commons, unleſs it be to ranſom the king, to make his ſon a knight, or to endow his daughter: it ordains, that no body ſhall be impriſoned, or deprived either of life or eſtate, without being judged by his peers, and according to the laws of the kingdom. The king, moreover, engages neither to ſell nor to refuſe juſtice to any man.

The laws of Weſtminſter, publiſhed by Edward I. were only a revival of the *magna charta*, excepting that they prohibited the acquiſition of lands in mortmain, and that they baniſhed the Jews from the kingdom.

Though England has a great many good laws, yet

yet there is no country perhaps in Europe, where they are ſo badly executed. Rapin Thoyras makes a very good remark, that it is owing to a defect in the government, that the regal power is continually claſhing with that of the parliament; that their time is employed in watching each other, either to maintain or to enlarge their authority; that this jealouſy between the king and the repreſentatives of the nation takes off their attention from the due adminiſtration of juſtice; and that this reſtleſs and tumultuous government is continually altering its laws by new acts of parliament, according to the exigency of different conjunctures and events; from whence it follows, that there is no kingdom whatſoever that has ſo great a need of a reformation in the law as England.

We have only a few words to add concerning Germany. We received the Roman laws at the time we ſubmitted to the arms of that nation; and the reaſon of our having ſtill preſerved them is, becauſe when the emperors abandoned Italy, they transferred the ſeat of the empire to our country. And yet there is not one circle, nor even one principality, of ever ſo ſmall an extent, but has its particular cuſtoms, which, by length of time, have acquired the force of laws.

After having explained the manner in which laws were eſtabliſhed in moſt civilized countries, we ſhall obſerve, that where-ever laws were introduced by the conſent of the people, it was neceſſity that cauſed them to be received; and that in conquered countries, the laws of the victor became thoſe of the vanquiſhed; but in both alike they have been conſiderably increaſed in proceſs of time. If we are aſtoniſhed

at firſt ſight, that nations ſhould be ſubject to ſo many different laws, we ſhall recover from our ſurpriſe, when we obſerve, that the eſſential part of laws is every where the ſame; I mean thoſe, which inflict puniſhments on crimes, for the preſervation of ſociety.

We obſerve likewiſe, upon examining into the conduct of the wiſeſt legiſlators, that laws ought to be adapted to the kind of government, and to the temper and conſtitutions of the nation for which they are deſigned; that the end propoſed by the beſt legiſlators is the public happineſs; and that, in general, thoſe laws which are moſt agreeable to natural equity, ſome few exceptions made, are the beſt.

Lycurgus, finding he had to deal with an ambitious people, gave them a kind of laws that were more proper to make ſoldiers of them than peaceable citizens; and his baniſhing gold from his republic, was, becauſe of all vices avarice is the moſt oppoſite to military glory.

Solon ſaid, that he did not give the Athenians the moſt perfect laws. but the beſt they were capable of receiving. He conſidered not only the temper and diſpoſition of the people, but likewiſe the ſituation of Athens, which was near the ſea; for which reaſon he puniſhed idleneſs, and encouraged induſtry; nor did he prohibit gold and ſilver, becauſe he was ſenſible, that his republic could never attain to any pitch of grandeur and power, but by the proſperity of its commerce

The laws muſt abſolutely be adapted to the temper and diſpoſition of the people, or there can be no hopes of their continuing long in force. As the Romans were inclined to a democracy, whatever tended

tended to alter that form of government was extremely odious to them. Hence ſo many commotions for the paſſing of the Agrarian law; the people flattering themſelves, that, by a diviſion of lands, they ſhould eſtabliſh a kind of equality in the eſtates of the citizens: hence ſo many tumults for the abolition of debts; becauſe the creditors, who were all Patricians, treated their debtors, the Plebeians, with inhumanity. Now nothing renders the inequality of conditions ſo odious, as the tyranny which the rich exerciſe over the poor with impunity.

We find all ſorts of laws in all countries; namely, thoſe relating to politics, and to the adminiſtration of government; thoſe which regard morals, and inflict puniſhments on criminals; and, laſtly, civil laws, which regulate inheritances, guardianſhips, the intereſt of money, and private contracts. The legiſlators of monarchies are generally the ſovereigns themſelves. If their laws are mild and juſt, they will eaſily maintain their ground, and the public will find its advantage in them: if they are ſevere and tyrannical, they will ſoon be aboliſhed; becauſe they muſt be ſupported by violence, and the tyrant is ſingle againſt a whole nation, who are impatient to ſuppreſs them.

In ſeveral republics, where private perſons were the legiſlators, their laws ſucceeded, only when they were able to eſtabliſh a juſt equilibrium between the power of the government and the liberty of the citizens.

It is only in regard to laws which regulate the morals of the people, that legiſlators agree, in general, upon the ſame principle, excepting that they are more ſevere againſt ſome crimes than others:

and this, without doubt, becauſe they knew the vices to which the nation had the ſtrongeſt bias.

As laws are a kind of barrier againſt the inroads of vice, they muſt certainly have recourſe to the terror of puniſhments to command reſpect. Yet it is not leſs certain that legiſlators, who have ſhewn a diſlike to the multiplying of penal laws, are to be commended as much at leaſt for their humanity, as others for their rigour.

The greateſt difference is in civil laws: thoſe by whom they were eſtabliſhed, found certain uſages introduced before their time, which they did not think proper to aboliſh, for fear of oppoſing the prejudices of the nation; they ſhewed therefore a regard to the cuſtom, by which they were looked upon as innocent; and though theſe uſages were not ſtrictly equitable, yet they adopted them, purely out of regard to their antiquity.

Whoſoever has been at the trouble of making a cloſe inquiry into the nature of laws, muſt have found a great many, without doubt, which, at firſt ſight, ſeem contrary to natural equity, and yet are otherwiſe. I ſhall give only this ſingle inſtance of the right of primogeniture. Nothing appears more juſt, than to make an equal diviſion of the paternal eſtate among all the children; and yet experience ſhews, that even the largeſt inheritances, ſub-divided into ſeveral ſhares, will reduce, in time, the moſt opulent families to indigence. This is the reaſon that parents have choſen rather to diſinherit their younger ſons, than to make ſuch a ſettlement as muſt inevitably occaſion the decline, if not the extinction of their families. And, by the ſame reaſon, thoſe laws which ſeem oppreſſive and ſevere to ſome individuals, are

are yet to be commended, when they are conducive to the welfare of a whole community: for a wiſe legiſlator will always prefer the intereſt of the whole to that of a part.

The laws which require the greateſt circumſpection and prudence on the part of the legiſlature, are undoubtedly thoſe relating to debitors. If they are favourable to the creditors, the ſituation of the debitors becomes too hard, and an unlucky accident may ruin them for ever: on the other hand, if they ſhould favour the debitors, public credit is hurt, by weakening the ſecurity of contracts.

But a juſt medium, which at the ſame time ſupports the validity of contracts, and does not oppreſs the inſolvent debitor, is, in my opinion, ſo difficult a thing, as never to be expected, even from the wiſeſt legiſlators.

We ſhall not enlarge further upon this article; the nature of this eſſay does not permit us to enter into a more minute detail; let us, therefore, confine ourſelves to general reflexions.

A perfect body of laws would be one of the nobleſt productions of the human mind: ſuch a work would require an unity of deſign, and ſo great an exactneſs and proportion of rules, that a ſtate directed by thoſe laws ſhould be like a watch, whoſe wheels are all made for the ſame end: it would require a profound knowledge of the human heart, and of the temper and conſtitution of the people: it would require moderation in the inflicting of puniſhments, ſo as to preſerve the people's morals, and yet be neither too mild nor too ſevere: it would require a ſingular perſpicuity and diſtinctneſs in wording the decrees, ſo as never to afford the leaſt room

for

for chicanery; and the decrees themſelves ſhould be an abſtract of the beſt regulations of the Civil law, ingeniouſly and ſimply applied to the cuſtoms of the nation: in fine, it would requ're ſagacity to provide againſt every caſe that may happen, and judgment to combine even the minuteſt circumſtances. But perfection is not to be expected from the frail condition of humanity.

The people would have reaſon to be ſatisfied, if legiſlators were always actuated towards them in the ſame manner as thoſe fathers of families who made the firſt laws, were towards their children; they loved their children, and every rule they preſcribed to them had no other view than the happineſs of their families.

A few wiſe laws make a nation happy; but a multiplicity of them embaraſs the adminiſtration of juſtice. As a ſkillful phyſician does not overload his patient with medicines, ſo a wiſe legiſlator does not burden the public with ſuperfluous laws. Medicines, when too numerous, obſtruct one another, and have not their due effect; ſo too many laws become a labyrinth, in which the lawyers and juſtice itſelf are loſt.

Laws were multiplied among the Romans, by the frequency of revolutions: every ambitious perſon, whom fortune favoured, ſet up for a legiſlator. This confuſion continued, as we have already obſerved, till the time of Auguſtus, who repealed all thoſe unjuſt decrees, and revived the old laws.

In France, the multiplicity of laws was owing to the conqueſt which the Franks made of that country, where they introduced their laws. Lewis XI had a deſign of re-uniting all theſe different inſtitutions, and

and of eſtabliſhing, as he ſaid himſelf, only one law, and one meaſure, throughout his dominions.

There are many laws to which men are attached, only becauſe they are generally ſlaves to cuſtom: though better regulations might be ſubſtituted in their ſtead, yet it would be dangerous, perhaps, to attempt to meddle with them. The confuſion which ſuch a reformation would occaſion in the adminiſtration of juſtice, would be productive of more miſchief, perhaps, than the new laws could do good.

And yet this does not hinder but there may be caſes, wherein a reformation ſhall appear abſolutely neceſſary; for example, when there are laws contrary to the public good, and to natural equity; when they are couched in vague and obſcure terms; and, laſtly, when they imply a contradiction either in the meaning or in the words.

Let us endeavour to illuſtrate this matter by a few examples The laws of Oſiris, in regard to thieves and robbers, will ſerve as an inſtance in the firſt caſe. By theſe it was ordained, that whoever entered himſelf of their gang, ſhould give in his name to their chief, and promiſe to deliver him all the booty he ſhould purloin. Thoſe who had been robbed applied to the chief of the gang, who returned them to the right owner, on condition of his paying a fourth part of their value. The legiſlator imagined, that, by this expedient, they ſhould put every citizen in the way of recovering what had been ſtolen from him, by paying a moderate ſum to redeem it; whereas this was the way to make all the Egyptians thieves. Doubtleſs this was far from being the intent of Oſiris in the enacting of this law; unleſs it may be ſaid, that he connived at theft, as an evil which it was impoſſible

impoſſible to prevent intirely; in the ſame manner as at Amſterdam they tolerate the Spiel houſes, and at Rome the public ſtews.

And yet, if ſuch a law as that of Oſiris ſhould unfortunately happen to be eſtabliſhed in any particular country, a regard to morals, as well as to the public ſecurity, requires the abolition of it.

The French are the very reverſe of the Egyptians; the latter were too mild, the former were too ſevere. The rigour of the French laws is extremely terrible; the leaſt petty larceny is puniſhed with death. And the reaſon they give for it is, that by hanging pickpockets they deſtroy the ſeed of robbers and aſſaſſins.

But natural equity requires there ſhould be ſome proportion between the puniſhment and the crime. Robberies attended with murder deſerve to be puniſhed with death; but thoſe which are committed without offering violence, may be attended with circumſtances that ſometimes are capable of exciting compaſſion towards the criminal.

Infinite is the diſtance between the ſituation of the rich and that of the poor: the one rolls in money, and riots in ſuperfluity; the other is forſaken by fortune, and deſtitute even of neceſſaries. Suppoſe a poor fellow ſteals, through want, a few guineas, a gold watch, or ſome ſuch thing, from a perſon to whom ſuch a loſs is but a mere trifle; is this a ſufficient reaſon to condemn the wretch to death? does not humanity call upon us to ſoften the ſeverity of the puniſhment? It ſeems, indeed, that this law was made by the rich: and have not the poor a right to ſay, "Is there no compaſſion for our miſe-
"rable ſituation? If you were charitable, you would
"be

"be humane; if you relieved us in our diſtreſs,
"we ſhould not rob: we ask you, whether it be
"fair, that all the pleaſures of life ſhould fall to
"your ſhare, and nothing but miſery to ours?"

In Pruſſia we have taken a middle way between the remiſneſs of the Egyptians, and the ſeverity of the French. We do not puniſh a ſimple theft with death, but only confine the delinquent for a certain time. Perhaps it would be ſtill better to introduce the law of retaliation, which was obſerved amongſt the Jews, whereby the thief was obliged to reſtore double the value of what he had ſtolen, or to yield himſelf the ſlave of the perſon he had robbed. Thus, by contenting ourſelves with inflicting only ſlight puniſhments for ſlight faults, we reſerve capital puniſhments for banditti, murderers, and aſſaſſins, ſo as to proportion the puniſhment always to the crime.

There is no law ſo ſhocking to humanity as that of Sparta and Rome, which conferred the power of life and death to fathers over their children. In Greece, if a father happened to be ſo poor as to be unable to provide for his family, he was allowed to kill every new born infant that he could not maintain. Both in Sparta and Rome, if a child was born with any notable deformity, this was ſufficient to impower the father to deprive him of life. We are perfectly ſenſible of the barbarity of thoſe laws, becauſe they are not ours; but let us inquire, for a while, whether ſome of ours are not equally unjuſt.

Is not there ſomething very hard in the manner in which we puniſh thoſe who cauſe abortions? God forbid I ſhould attempt to excuſe the horrid action of thoſe cruel Medeas, who, deaf to the cries of nature, deſtroy the unborn infant, by refuſing to give it

time

time to come to light! But let the reader lay aſide all prejudices ariſing from cuſtom, and be pleaſed to give attention to the reflexions I am going to offer.

Do not the laws brand with infamy a woman who is brought to bed out of lawful wedlock? Suppoſe a girl, of a tender diſpoſition, is deceived by the fallacious promiſes of a debauchee, the conſequence of her credulity is, that ſhe muſt take her choice, either to loſe her reputation, or the unhappy fruit which ſhe has conceived. Are not the laws to blame for reducing her to this terrible dilemma? and does not the ſeverity of the judges deprive the ſtate of two ſubjects at once? of the child, who has periſhed by abortion, and of the mother, who might have repaired this fault by a legitimate propagation? To this it will be anſwered, that there are foundling hoſpitals; and I own, that theſe ſave the lives of a multitude of baſtard children: but would it not be better to ſtrike at the very root of the evil, and to preſerve ſo many poor creatures, who come to a miſerable end, by aboliſhing the note of infamy which attends deſultory and unguarded embraces?

But nothing is more cruel than the practice of putting criminals to the torture: the Romans uſed it againſt their ſlaves, whom they conſidered as a kind of domeſtic cattle; but it was not allowed againſt a citizen.

The torture is uſed in Germany againſt malefactors, after their conviction, to oblige them to confeſs their crime. In France it is uſed to prove the fact, or to diſcover the accomplices. In England they had formerly the ordeal, or purgation by fire * and by water,

* The ordeal by fire was, by obliging the perſon accuſed to hold a piece of hot iron between his hands; if he was ſo lucky as not be hurt, he was acquitted; if otherwiſe, he was puniſhed as guilty.

ter †; at preſent they have a kind of torture leſs ſevere, indeed, than the ordinary one, but which amounts pretty near to the ſame thing.

I hope I need make no apology for condemning the uſe of the torture; for preſuming to take the part of humanity againſt a practice ſo ſhameful to Chriſtians and to all civilized nations; and, if I may venture to add, a practice as uſeleſs as cruel.

Quintilian, the moſt learned, and moſt eloquent of rhetoricians, treating of the torture, ſays, it is a thing that depends on conſtitution. A villain, of a robuſt habit of body, will deny the fact; when an innocent perſon, of a weak conſtitution, ſhall own it. Suppoſe a man is accuſed of a crime, and there are ſuſpicious circumſtances againſt him; the judge is dubious, and wants to come at the truth; the poor wretch is then put to the torture. If he is innocent, is it not barbarity to make him ſuffer martyrdom? If the violence of the pain obliges him to depoſe againſt himſelf, is it not the moſt ſhocking inhumanity to rack and condemn to death a virtuous citizen, againſt whom there are only ſuſpicious circumſtances? It would be much better to pardon twenty who are guilty, than wrongfully to condemn one innocent perſon. If laws ought to be made for the good of the people; how is it poſſible to bear with ſuch as theſe, which lay the judges under a neceſſity of committing, in method and form, actions that are ſhocking, in the higheſt degree, to human nature?

It is now eight years ſince the practice of torturing criminals has been aboliſhed in Pruſſia. We are ſure

† The ordeal by water was, by tying the perſon accuſed, and throwing him into the water; if he did not ſink, he was acquitted.

ſure not to confound the innocent with the guilty; and yet juſtice is as well adminiſtred as formerly.

Let us now examine into theſe vague laws and tedious proceedings which have need of a reformation.

There was a law in England that prohibited bigamy: upon this a man was charged with being married to five wives; but as the law was not clear and diſtinct in regard to the caſe, and as they interpret it literally, the man was acquitted. To render this law clear, it ſhould be worded thus: that whoever is married to more wives than one ſhall be puniſhed, *&c.* The want of diſtinctneſs in the wording of laws, and the literal interpretation of them in England †, has occaſioned the moſt ridiculous abuſes.

Clear laws prevent chicanery and cavilling, for they are to be underſtood according to the meaning of the letter; when they are indiſtinct or obſcure, we are obliged to have recourſe to the intention of the legiſlator; and, inſtead of judging of facts, our time is taken up in defining them.

The chicanery of lawyers is kept up chiefly by ſucceſſions and contracts; for which reaſon the laws relating to theſe articles have need of the greateſt perſpicuity. If we are ſo nice with regard to words, in writing trifling pieces for amuſement; how much more ſcrupulous ought we to be in weighing the terms of the law, by which the lives and property of the people are to be decided?

There are two rocks which judges ought to avoid ſplitting upon, corruption and error; their conſci-

† Muralt. A man ſlit another's noſe, and was taken up and proſecuted for maiming the king's ſubject; but in his defence he maintained, that the part he had cut was not a member; and the parliament was obliged to make a new act, declaring, that the noſe ſhould be looked upon as a member.

ence ſhould ſecure them againſt the firſt, and the legiſlature againſt the ſecond. This is principally effected by the perſpicuity of the laws, which leaves no room for cavilling; and, in the next place, by the ſimplicity of the pleadings. The council may be ordered to confine themſelves to a plain narration of the fact, ſupported by ſome proofs, and terminating in an epilogue, or a ſhort recapitulation. Nothing bears ſuch a ſway with it as the art of managing the paſſions in the mouth of an eloquent orator: he ſeizes, as it were, on the mind of the judge; he ſecures him in his intereſt; he excites his paſſions; and he impells him, in fine, like a torrent: thus the juſtice of the cauſe is ſacrificed to the bewitching charms of eloquence. Lycurgus and Solon prohibited this kind of oratory; and if we meet with ſome inſtances of it in Demoſthenes's Philippics, and in the orations *pro Corona*, by him and Eſchines, we are to obſerve, that they were not pronounced before the court of Areopagus, but before the people; that the Philippics are of the deliberative kind; and that thoſe *pro Corona* are rather of the demonſtrative than of the judicial kind.

The Romans were not ſo ſcrupulous as the Greeks in regard to their judicial pleadings. There is not one of Cicero's pleas but is worked up with all the art of moving the paſſions. I am ſorry to ſay it of this great orator; but we find in his oration *pro Cluentio*, that he had pleaded before for the oppoſite party: and though Cluentius's cauſe does not ſeem abſolutely good, yet it was carried by the impoſing art of the orator. Cicero's maſter-piece is, without doubt, the peroration *pro Fonteio*; it gained his client the cauſe, though he appears guilty. What

an abuſe of eloquence, thus to evade the very beſt of laws by its illuſive charms !

Pruſſia has followed this example of Greece, by baniſhing the dangerous ſubtilties of eloquence from her courts of judicature : and for this ſhe is indebted to the wiſdom of the high chancellor, whoſe probity, learning, and indefatigable activity, would have been an honour to the Greek and Roman republics, even at the time when they were moſt fruitful in great men.

There is ſtill another article remaining, which ought to be included under the obſcurity of laws; this is the tedious practice of the courts, or the number of delays which the parties at law muſt go through before the ſuit is determined. Whether they are injured by the iniquity of the laws, or whether their rights are confounded, or whether the length of the proceedings ſwallows up the very property for which they are conteſting, and deprives them of the advantages due to them, it all amounts to the ſame ; one may be a greater evil than the other ; but all abuſes want a reformation. Whatever lengthens the courſe of proceedings, gives a conſiderable advantage to the rich over the poor ; they find means to ſpin out the cauſe from time to time, till they ruin their adverſary, and are left to run the race by themſelves.

Law ſuits formerly laſted in our country above an hundred years. Even when the cauſe had been decided by five courts, the party who was caſt might appeal, in open contempt of juſtice, to the univerſities, and the Civilians altered the ſentence as they thought proper. Thus the party at law muſt have been very unlucky indeed, if in five different courts, and

and I know not how many univerſities, he could meet with no body whoſe heart was open to venality and corruption. This method of proceeding is now aboliſhed; cauſes are determined finally in the third inſtance ; and judges are allowed only the ſpace of a year to decide the moſt intricate cauſes.

We ſhall conclude with a few remarks concerning thoſe laws which imply a contradiction either in the words or in the ſenſe.

When the laws of a country are not reduced into one body, they muſt needs contradict one another very frequently. As they are the work of different legiſlators, who have not all proceeded on the ſame plan, they muſt want that unity which is ſo eſſentially requiſite in all matters of importance.

Quintilian treats this ſubject in his inſtitutes ; and we find, in Cicero's orations, that he frequently oppoſes one law againſt another. The ſame may be obſerved in the hiſtory of France, in regard to the edicts, which are ſometimes in favour of, and ſometimes againſt the Huguenots. The neceſſity of digeſting theſe ordnances is ſo much the more indiſpenſible, as nothing is more contrary to the majeſty of laws (which are always ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed with deliberation and prudence) than to find them openly contradictory to each other.

The law againſt duels is juſt and equitable, as our very reaſon tells us ; and yet it has not anſwered the end which princes expected. Prejudices of a more antient date than this law, have hindered it from taking effect ; and the public, who are generally carried away by falſe notions, ſeem to have entered into a tacit agreement not to obey it. A miſtaken point of honour, but generally received, bids defiance to

the power of ſovereigns; and, indeed, they cannot put this law in full force without being guilty of a kind of cruelty. Every man, who has had the misfortune of being inſulted by an inconſiderate fool, paſſes for a coward all over the world, if he does not revenge the affront, by the death of the perſon who offered it. If the injury is done to a man of family, he is looked upon as unworthy of the noble titles he bears, unleſs he demand ſatisfaction; and if he belongs to the army, and does not take this method of deciding the difference, he is obliged to quit the ſervice with ignominy; nor will he afterwards find employment in any court in Europe. What method then muſt a private perſon take, if he happens to be engaged in ſo thorny an affair? muſt he incur infamy and diſgrace by obeying the law? or ſhall he not rather run the riſque of his life and fortune to ſave his reputation?

The difficulty that now remains is, to find out an expedient for ſaving the honour of private perſons, and of preſerving, at the ſame time, the law in its full vigour.

The authority of the greateſt princes has been ineffectual againſt this barbarous cuſtom. Lewis XIV. Frederick I and Frederick-William, publiſhed very ſevere edicts againſt duels, but all to no purpoſe; only that duels afterwards changed their name, and were called rencounters; and ſeveral noblemen, who were killed on theſe occaſions, were ſaid to have died ſuddenly.

If all the princes in Europe do not appoint a congreſs, and unanimouſly agree to brand with infamy thoſe who, in contempt of their laws, attempt to cut one another's throat in theſe ſingle combats; if, I ſay,

I ſay, they do not enter into an agreement, not to afford any kind of aſylum to this kind of murderers, and to inflict ſevere puniſhments on ſuch as ſhall inſult their equals either by word, deed, or writing, there will never be an end of duels.

Let me not be charged with having copied the viſionary notions of the Abbe de St Pierre. I ſee no impoſſibility in this, that private perſons ſhould ſubmit their quarrels to the deciſion of judges, no more than in ſubmitting the diſputes they may have relating to property. And why ſhould not princes aſſemble a congreſs for the general good of mankind, after having held ſo many fruitleſs ones for matters of leſſer importance? To return to the point; I may venture to maintain that this is the only effectual way of aboliſhing, throughout Europe, that ill-judged notion of honour, which has coſt the lives of ſo many brave men, whoſe country might have expected the moſt eminent ſervices from their abilities.

Such is the abſtract of the reflexions that have occurred to me upon laws. I have confined myſelf to the outlines, without drawing a full plan; and yet I am afraid I have ſaid too much.

The laſt remark I have to make is, that thoſe nations who have but juſt begun to ſhake off their barbarouſneſs, ſeem to require a greater ſeverity of laws; but nations that have been long civilized, and whoſe manners are gentle and mild, have need of humane legiſlators.

To imagine that men are all devils, and to fall upon them with inveterate rancour, is the viſionary notion of a ſour miſanthrope: to ſuppoſe that they are all angels, and to leave them intirely to their own guidance, is the dream of a ſilly monk: to be perſua-

ded that they are neither all good, nor all bad; to reward virtuous actions even beyond their merit; to puniſh vicious ones below their deſert; is ſhewing indulgence to their infirmities, and humanity to them all; and, in fine, is acting like a reaſonable man.

FINIS.

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